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THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO

MY previous essay was occupied chiefly in considering the text of Verrazano's Letter. The present will be devoted to the Voyage which the Letter describes. It may be necessary, however, at the outset to notice a theory, to which attention was called sometime since in a review not specially devoted to historical questions.

The theory in question supposes that the voyage of Verrazano was never made, but was framed out of the map of Ribero, 1529, by some Florentine forger. This theory may be stated briefly as follows: The Carli version of the letter makes the total extent of Verrazano's exploration upon the American coast 700 leagues, a distance included between a point 50 leagues south of latitude 34° N. and 50° N., embracing nine courses, stated in round numbers as 50, 50, 100, 80, 15, 150, 50, 50, 150 leagues. Then, repairing to Ribero's map, the author of this theory, by a system of measurements, endeavors to make it appear that the divisions between the corresponding points, 34° N. and 50° N., amount to the same sum, less only five leagues, and declares that the courses sailed according to the Letter agree with the latitudes and courses on Ribero's map. In a refutation of this theory, Mr. Major, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, curtly observes: "As a matter of fact, we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map;" which is perfectly true, and the assumed divisions might be left to take care of themselves. The attention of the reader may nevertheless be directed to certain facts, as, for instance, to the fact that while the Carli version gives the length of the fourth course as 80 leagues, Ramusio makes it only 50. The latter also declares that the distance run was *more* than 700 leagues, while the total of his figures is only 670. But the integrity of such a computation depends not alone upon the correctness of the measurements. There must be the employment of all the factors. In this case, however, a crucial point in the discussion is omitted. Reference is here made to the fact that a third latitude given by the Letter

is not mentioned at all, though this is the latitude especially to be relied upon, as it purports to have been fixed during a stay of two weeks. Respecting the two extreme points of the voyage, 34° N. and 50° N., which the late Buckingham Smith supposes, properly enough, "to have been guessed at rather than ascertained," no question is raised, but the middle and exact latitude, $41^{\circ} 40'$ N., which must be the middle term in any attempt to deduce the Letter from Ribero, is suppressed. To illustrate this point, a sketch is given from the Ribero map, which was based upon the Voyage of Gomez, accompanied by one from the map of Verrazano. Upon the Ribero map is seen indicated the course of what the theory under consideration holds as a fancied voyage reduced to the form of a Letter after a study of the map. In connection with this course the latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ N. is not given, only the two extreme latitudes appearing. This middle latitude, however, has been marked by the present writer, and a glance shows that all is solid land west of that point. Yet the Letter declares that latitude to have been reached by sailing from west to east. Thus a true comparison of the Letter with the Ribero map proves that the Voyage was *not* deduced from the map, as the Voyage according to the map was simply an impossibility. What is more, if the author of the Letter knew of Ribero's map at all, he discredited it as worthless. For convenience, the two sketches have been given upon the same sheet. The nine courses sailed by Verrazano are indicated on the Ribero map by dotted lines. By a careful measurement it will be found that the fifth course, instead of ending where it would if the theory were correct, that is, in $41^{\circ} 40'$, terminates near the beginning of parallel 44° . If the courses described in the Letter had been deduced from Ribero's map, the port of Verrazano, or Bay of Refuge, would have been sought near the Bay St. Antonio.

Glancing, however, at the Verrazano sketch which accompanies that from Ribero, it will be seen that no such contradiction appears. It is true that the latitudes of Verrazano are incorrect, which is also true of Ribero, though in a lesser degree. By some misunderstanding Hieronimo placed the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, and the error extends up the coast, not being fully eliminated before reaching the latitude of Greenland. This particular feature of the Verrazano Map, however, will be spoken of more fully in the concluding chapter. It will be necessary here simply to point out the fact that the coast is quite distinctly delineated by Verrazano, and that the point laid down in the Letter as in latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ east of Block Island, or the Island of Luisa, may be reached, as Verrazano states, by sailing from west to east.

The Harbor of Giovanni da Verrazano, in $41^{\circ} 40'$, is marked in the map of Hieronimo as the Gulf of Refuge (*G. del Refugio*). The Letter, therefore, deliberately rejects the Ribero map and agrees with that of Verrazano. And why? It was simply because the Letter was written from an exact knowledge of the coast, such as Ribero did not possess; for while the Italian map shows the coast with tolerable plainness, from Sandy Hook to Cape Cod and the neighboring shoals, the Spanish map shows no knowledge of the existence of Cape Cod, but exaggerates Sandy Hook so enormously that many have fancied that the Hook was intended to represent the Cape. Notwithstanding the comparative rudeness of Verrazano's outline, it required nearly a century to improve upon it. It is this outline that is indicated in both Map and Letter, by adhering to which, and by rejecting Ribero, both Letter and Map earn the right to be considered authentic. If the true character of the Verrazano Map had been understood and pointed out earlier, the adverse theory under review never would have had existence.

Thus by the simple method indicated the assumed divisions of the Ribero are broken up and dissipated. Besides, it may be remembered, a forger, who was so exact as to ascertain the fact that during the period occupied by the alleged voyage no lunar eclipse took place, would not be so dull as to blunder and miscalculate a simple latitude with the map before him; much less would he give the latitude with such particularity. Nor is it likely that a forger, engaged in framing a voyage out of the map, would say that the country was *rich* in gold, while the map says that it is *poor*. Again, he would not be so bold as to give an island of the size of Rhodes where Ribero indicates nothing of the kind, nor would he place the archipelagoes where Ribero has placed none at all. This theory is, therefore, based upon a misconception of facts, and cannot for a moment be entertained. Besides, as will be shown elsewhere, the influence which Ribero has been supposed to have in Italy never existed, while Ribero was repudiated by his fellow countryman, Oviedo, in 1534. In this connection it may be proper to give the full text of Mr. Major's remarks. He says:

"As a matter of fact we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map; but since the contour of the country is the same on both maps, it is obvious that if the courses and distances in the Verrazzano letter tally, as Mr. Murphy says they do, with the Gomez [Ribero] map, they will do so also with the Verrazzano map, which is exactly what we should have a right to expect; and it is equally clear that we must look for evidence outside of the maps to trace the source whence their cognate geography is derived. And what do we find? That, whereas we do

possess a lengthy narrative, full of minute detail, of Verrazzano's voyage, which could bear the minute examination of Dr. Kohl by the light of our knowledge of to-day, and which it would be simply absurd to suppose to be constructed on the mere skeleton basis of a map, the following is the learned Doctor's comment on the Gomez voyage: 'We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship-journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved; and the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition, although it had a particular interest for Spain, being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast.' In short, the Verrazzano letter contains details which could not have been gleaned from any previously existing accounts or maps. We must therefore differ from Mr. Murphy, not only as to the fraudulent fabrication of Carli's letter, but also as to the statement that without it Verrazzano's letter would fall through."

Let us now proceed to examine the Voyage of Verrazano. According to Ribault, Verrazano originally sailed from Dieppe, though considerable time appears to have elapsed before he was able to carry out his original intention respecting a voyage to Cathay. This undertaking was projected in 1523. Andrade (*Chronica de Muyto alto, Lisbon, 1613*) says that the Portuguese King was informed by some of his merchants residing in France, that Verrazano had offered his services to Francis I., nominally for a voyage to the Indies by a new route, but really for the purpose of plundering Brazil. The Portuguese Ambassador accordingly remonstrated with Francis, but as the latter had just contracted to marry his son to the daughter of the King of Portugal, it is not reasonable to suppose that the object of Verrazano's expedition was the plunder of the Portuguese possessions. Francis simply replied that with respect to the fleet he would arrange all to the satisfaction of his royal brother. April 25, 1523, Silveira, the Portuguese Ambassador, wrote to his master: "By what I hear, Maestro Joas Verrazano, *who is going on the discovery of Cathay*, has not left up to date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, between himself and men. . . . I shall continue to doubt unless he takes his departure." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 163.) That he left there can be no doubt. About the time Andrada wrote, there were, according to Pinello, two versions of Verrazano's narrative accessible in Spain. Escaping from the embargo laid for the time by Spanish spies, the fleet of four ships went to sea. Being overtaken by a storm, Verrazano was obliged to enter a Breton port with the "Normanda" and "Dalfina," two others

apparently being lost. After making repairs he sailed to the Spanish coast, and eventually departed upon his discovery with the "Dalfina," the Captain of the other ship leaving Verrazano to go alone. This was doubtless the final result of the quarrels between Verrazano and his men reported by Silveira. The affair appears to be alluded to by Carli where he says: "Brunelleschi, who went with him, and unfortunately turned back, unwilling to follow him farther, when he hears of it [the voyage], will not be well pleased." In this curious and unexpected manner does the concurrent testimony of widely separated writers attest the authenticity of the voyage.

January 17th, 1524, Verrazano sailed from a barren rock southeast of Madeira, though Carli says, "at the end of January last he went from the *Canary* Islands in search of new countries," an error which may be accepted amongst other things as an indication that the Carli Letter did not proceed from the same hand that penned the narrative of the voyage. Verrazano steered westward until February 24th, when he met a "hurricane, and afterwards veered more to the north." March 7th he saw land "never before been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times," which he readily fancied to be the case, as he wished for an excuse for entering upon Spanish ground. Here a significant fact may be pointed out, namely, that in crossing the ocean he took a direct course. In 1562 Ribault was proud of a similar achievement. The custom for a long time afterward was to sail to Newfoundland and coast southward, or the West Indies and thence northward. Verrazano was on forbidden ground, and as a well-known agent of France his life was sought wherever the Spanish flag was unfurled. He therefore took a direct course, holding towards the west amidst sunshine and storm, until the shores of the new continent rose above the waves. This is something that would not have occurred to Italian forgers, or if the bold conception *had* entered their minds, they would not have allowed the fancied achievement to be stated by Carli without applause. Rhetoric would have been summoned to tell the story of a second Columbus. Verrazano ran down the coast fifty leagues without finding a suitable harbor. He probably made this exploration for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the land seen was connected with Florida, the existence of which country was known to all the world. In this unstudied statement is found the work of an honest and intelligent explorer, who would make it certain that his own line of observation began far enough south to avoid missing any opening to India in the unexplored region represented conjecturally in the Ptolemy of 1513. Returning north-

ward, he landed and met the natives. The landfall is placed in 34° N., near Charleston. Evidently the calculation was a rough one. The land "stretched to the south," which is true, though the coast trends southwest. In this and similar statements there is no effort made to be perfectly exact. All the distances are given on the decimal system, showing that they were rough estimates, not indeed of the length of straight lines from point to point, but approximate estimates of distances sailed while coasting between given points. The country is distinctly described as it appears to-day—the shore bordered with low sand-hills, the sea making inlets, while beyond were beautiful fields, broad plains and immense forests.

Sending a boat to the shore, the people fled, but by friendly signs were induced to return. They exhibited the greatest pleasure upon beholding the strangers, wondering at their dress, "countenances and complexion." Thus in the same region, in 1584, Barlow says, "They wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins." The color of the natives is described in the Carli version as black and not much unlike that of the Ethiopians, while Ramusio's version speaks of them as brown and not much unlike Saracens. That Ramusio did not draw his version from Carli has been demonstrated already, and the explanation of this variation is therefore the more easy. We may suppose that Verrazano made two draughts of the Letter, couched in different terms, and it so, the variation need not be attributed to the translators. It, however, must be noted distinctly that the natives are *not* described either as Ethiopians or Saracens. Still again, the original by Verrazano may have been, and probably was, written in French; in which case, writing in a foreign tongue, he may have used terms that misled his Italian translators, calling the natives "Maures" or "Mores," which formerly included both the African and Asiatic races. This being supposed, one translator may have rendered the term "Saracens" and the other "Ethiopians." In neither instance, however, is there any valid objection to the terms. The supplement to the French dictionary by Barré (Bruxelles, 1838, p. 635) shows that the Greeks spoke of the "Moors of Asia," and the term is still used in a very comprehensive sense. Italian dictionaries use the word *moro* indiscriminately in speaking of the people of Africa. In the journal of Parmentier, 1529, the inhabitants of Madagascar are called Moors, though the island has a black race and handsome olive-colored tribes. This journal also speaks of a "white Moor" (*More blanc*) as appearing with the black-moors. (Vitet's *Histoire de Normandie*, vol. ii, pp. 77 and 80.)

The hypercriticism that has been bestowed upon this subject is, on the whole, remarkable. The language of other writers has also been overlooked; for Gosnold's scribe (1602) says that some of the New England Indians were "black, thin bearded;" Lok calls Frobisher's Indians "tawny Moors," and Weymouth (1605) says that the Indian women in Maine were "well favored in proportion of countenance, though colored black." Peter Martyr observes that there are "divers degrees of blackness" as respects the races. Columbus in his first letter made known the fact that the people of the New World were not black, which would have been attended to by a forger. Belleforest makes Verrazano say that the people were like the "*Mores de la Barbarie*." Herrera, in describing Verrazano's voyage, probably out of one of the versions mentioned by Pinello, says that their color was the same as that of other Indians (*otros Indios*) Dec. III. L. VI, c. 9. These two authors did not follow the same text, as has been hastily assumed. The Japanese who visited Rome in 1615 are described of a color which borders on black (*qui tire sur le noir*. *Archives des Voyages*, I, 59). Thevet, also, (*Les Singularitez*, p. 54), speaking of the natives of America, says that he will leave it to the philosophers to say why their color "is not so burnt (*aduste*) as that of the Blacks of Ethiopia." With Martyr, he recognizes "degrees of blackness." It is time to stop trifling with the subject, for if there were any error in the Carli Version, the text that follows would supply the correction, since even a slight attention to its statement would convince the reader that Verrazano was not describing negroes. Some were "beautiful," and others were fairer or whiter than the rest, and were *straight haired*. Here we have portrayed the characteristics of Indians, not Negroes. Verrazano says that "the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces." Here is the Indian described with his enormous cheek bones, though it is added with reference to their faces, "we saw many that had sharp ones, with *black eyes*." This is plainly a description that the greatest blunderer would not apply to the black man of the Ethiopian type. We repeat, therefore, that the general description forbids us from straining any special phrase to suit the Ethiopian theory.

In describing the forests, he speaks of them as he actually saw similar forests at a later period. The descriptions may be exaggerated, but what early descriptions are *not* exaggerated? The *variety* of the forests might well impress any European mind, as they did that of Chateaubriand; for in France, the adopted country of Verrazano, only about forty species of trees attain to a height of thirty feet, while in North America

there are one hundred and forty that reach this height, a fact that gives the key to the peculiar wealth of color which marks the spring time and attends upon the dying year. From the previous chapter we have already seen that Barlow, who had Verrazano's Letter in his hand, adopted his language in describing the forests, which were not like those of "Hercynia." Verrazano says that the forests "send forth the sweetest fragrance to the greatest distance," while Barlow says that before they reached the land "we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." (Hakluyt III, 246.)

Southward the harbors were poor, and northward they saw none, yet the coast was not dangerous, "being free from rocks, and bold," a description practically endorsed by Ribault, who was, however, more successful in finding harbors. Northward Verrazano's experience agreed with that of Barlow, who found the region harborless. Henry Hudson and Captain Dermer met with the same experience.

Verrazano continues the description, and says that the coast appeared to stretch toward the west, thus apparently indicating the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Some have supposed that "west" was written by error for "east," yet such an inference is by no means necessary, especially as the Chesapeake appears to be indicated upon the Verrazano Map. The language is very general. It is said they continued to coast along the shore, which "we found stretching out to the west." Barlow, speaking of Wohokon, says, "this lande lay stretching itself to the west." It is not said, however, that they *followed* the coast westward. Verrazano probably means to describe only the general direction of the course, not delaying to speak of every inlet seen. Everywhere they saw "a multitude of fires." Barlow says the same, and observes that they were intended by the natives to show the English their numerical strength. Hudson also saw the fires, and named one place "Barnendegat," the modern "Barnegat." Nor must we omit what Father White says on this point (Force's Tracts, Vol. IV), observing as he does that upon the arrival of his ship at the head of Chesapeake Bay, "fires were kindled through the whole region." Verrazano states that in all this region he saw no stone of any sort, while the coast is actually free from stone. This is remarkable information for a Florentine forger to possess. Perceiving nothing promising in this region, Verrazano went northward, where he found beautiful forests. He was now passing the shores of Maryland and Delaware. Delaware Bay is not mentioned, though it would seem to be indicated upon the map of Hieronimo.

Verrazano could find no harbor, and remained three days "riding at anchor on the coast." He was probably sheltered under Cape May, in the mouth of Delaware Bay, which Dermer passed without mentioning it in 1619, when sailing from New York to Virginia. He says: "I stood along the coast to seek harbors, * * but being a harborless coast, for aught we could then perceive, we found no succor until we arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Main, on the east side of the Bay *Chesterpeak*, where in a wilde road we anchored." The people at this place fled from Verrazano, but in the grass, which, according to Ingram (1568), accumulated from year to year, they found an old woman, and a girl of eighteen, "very beautiful;" also two boys. The people made their canoes of logs, as described by Barlow and Father White (Maryland Coll., 1874, p. 35). Verrazano saw the grapevines in profusion climbing the trees, while Barlow, when describing the vines at Roanoke, with the Florentine's description before him, says that they climb towards the top of high cedars. Though writing of early spring, he says in the Carli version that the grapes were "very sweet and pleasant," while Hudson (1609) says that the "dried" currants which the Indians brought were "sweet and good." Ramusio's version says that the grapes were dried. Which version may be the more correct is not of the slightest consequence. That the grapes were dried is perfectly consistent with the language of Carli, as shown in the previous chapter. Possibly the language was originally exaggerated. Cortez makes Montezumas drink wine from cellars in a country where wine and cellars were unknown. Cartier's "*Relation Original*" (Paris, 1867, p. 39) describes figs in Canada, while Hakluyt (III, 209) mentions dried plums. The critic's deep concern about the grapes and the color of the natives is really a case of much ado about nothing.

Passing along the coast of New Jersey, this course being roughly put at a hundred leagues, the navigator next reaches the Bay of New York. Verrazano says: "We found a very pleasant situation amongst some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea. From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship, heavily laden, might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth. Therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers of birds of different colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration,

and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up the river about half a league, where it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes, who came to see us. All of a sudden, as it is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed, also must contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."

In 1619, Dermer was also driven away from this harbor, where he fancied, from the account of the Indians, that he should find a passage to the Western Sea of Verrazano. He says: "We were forced back with contrary and overflowing winds, hardly escaping both [with] our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood along the coast to seek harbors." (New York Coll., 1 ser., Vol. I, p. 353.)

Of the Western Sea Verrazano makes no mention while describing the coast between latitude 34° N. and New York, though its existence is taken for granted in his cosmographical appendix, as will be pointed out. Respecting the descriptions thus far, Mr. Buckingham Smith frankly admits that "the general character of the land and its vegetation could have been so correctly described only from actual observation." This being the case, who except Verrazano could have written the description, since it is known that Gomez (1525) did not? With respect to the correctness of the description of New York Bay, nothing needs to be said, as the sketch is easily recognizable. On the map of Hieronimo this part of the coast is associated with St. Germaine, the splendid residence of Francis I. The Bay of New York is exaggerated as respects its size.

The next course of the Navigator was eastward. Ramusio's version makes the distance fifty leagues, while the Carli version says eighty, though both are exaggerations. Sailing this course along the shore of Long Island, distinctly indicated on the map, Verrazano reached a triangular shaped island, said to be ten leagues from the land, and about the size of the famous Island of Rhodes. This must have been Block Island, though the latter is too small, and cannot be compared to Rhodes in size, notwithstanding the similarity in shape. As this subject will come up in the following chapter, in connection with the Map of Verrazano, we may simply observe now that we have no right to deny that a man ever saw a certain island, because he erred in his estimate of its size. The terms throughout the Letter are the loose terms often employed by sailors.

At this point, evidently, Verrazano had reached the waters of Narragansett Bay. This triangular island, which, after the mother of Francis I., he called Luisa, occupies the same position in the map of Hieronimo da Verrazano that Block Island holds on modern maps. Passing this island without landing, he went on fifteen leagues more to a place in latitude $41^{\circ} 40' N$. It is worthy of notice that the old interpreters of the Letter had no difficulty in recognizing the places described. In 1583 Captain Carlisle urged the establishment of a colony near latitude $40^{\circ} N$., while, as noted in the previous chapter, Gosnold sailed to this place in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hand. The Explorer did not land upon the island of Luisa, but went forward, and found an excellent harbor. The distance of this island from the land is set down as ten leagues, though Block Island is not more than five. Verrazano wrote, more or less, from recollection, and thus goes wide of the mark. Brereton and Archer, the historians of Gosnold's voyage, also misstate the distances, and some of their statements are unintelligible.

Entering the harbor of Newport, Verrazano was met by twenty canoes, full of astonished savages, who kept at a distance while they viewed the structure of the ship and the dress of the strangers. Finally they seemed to be satisfied with what they saw, and expressed their feelings, Indian fashion, by shouting in chorus. By the distribution of trinkets and toys, some of them were induced to go on board the *Dalfina*. Evidently they had never seen Europeans before, and did not know the value of arms nor implements made of iron. The "looking-glasses" shown them caused a smile, and they returned them as soon as they had looked at them. Thus the Maine Indians "laughed" when mirrors were presented them by Weymouth, 1605. Verrazano says that these people had "two Kings, more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described. One was about forty years, and the other about twenty-four." The elder wore around his neck a large chain, ornamented with many stones of different colors, which may have been wampum. Their complexion is described as tawny, and "greatly resembling the antique." If Verrazano had happened here at the time of the annual mourning, he might have found them black and so described them, as the New England Indians, as well as others, painted themselves black at regular intervals.

Respecting the "two Kings" found by Verrazano presiding over the people, it may be observed that the Narragansett Indians were living under this kind of government when the English came, a century

later. Roger Williams (Key, 120) says: "Their government is monarchical; yet at present the chiefest government of the country is divided between a younger Sachem, Miantunnomoh, and an elder Sachem, Canonicus, of about four score years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable." Here we find the same order indicated by Verrazano, Canonicus and his nephew being no doubt descendants of the Sachems who received the Florentine with the kindness which Roger Williams declared to be an eminent characteristic. The Letter states that "one of the two Kings often came with his queen and many attendants to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at a distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying that they would come and see our ship. This was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us, they came off, and remained a while to look around; but on hearing the amazing cries of the sailors, the King sent the queen with her attendants in a very light boat [a bark canoe?] to wait near an island, a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board."

It has been suggested that this was analogised from Peter Martyr (Sec. 1, Lib. IV), where he describes the visit made to the brother of Columbus by the Cacique of Xaragua and his sister, a suggestion disposed of in the "Church Review" (July, 1878). If, however, such had been the case with reference to the language, it would prove nothing, since Martyr's descriptions of the West Indies were published twelve years *before* the Letter of Verrazano was written. To show that the Letter was not the composition of 1524, it must be shown that the Letter quotes from some work of a *later* date than 1524. There is no proof whatsoever that the author of the Verrazano Letter derived any aid from Martyr, though if he had it would not reflect upon the authenticity of the Voyage; otherwise we should have to conclude that Barlow made no voyage, because he plagiarized Verrazano. This brings us to the narrative of Barlow once more, who speaks of the degree of state observed by the savages. At Roanoke, he says, "the King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered." Again, the "King's brother's wife" when "she came to visit us (as she did many times), was followed with forty or fifty women always; and when she came to the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more."

Verrazano and Roger Williams agree respecting the state maintained by these savage potentates, and the same testimony is borne by Dermer

and Levett. The declarations of the Letter, that the savages "imitated us with earnestness and fervor in our acts of worship," agrees with the experience of navigators and the known politeness of the Indian (Hakluyt III. 221, and Herrera IV. 248). The Indians guarded their women carefully, according to Verrazano, and Martin Pring (1603) uses Verrazano's Letter in speaking of this characteristic.

Verrazano relates that "on entering the woods, we observed that they all might be traversed by an army ever so numerous," having also noted that farther to the south the "woods are easily penetrated." "Mourt's Relation" (1620) says that the woods are for the "most part open," and "fit either to go or ride in." The "New English Canaan" of Morton (1632), speaking of the country in 1622, says, "the trees grow here and there, as in our parks, and makes the country very beautiful and commodious." Wood, in his "New England Prospect," says that the natives kept the forests clear. Having now entered up a rocky region, the material of the arrow-heads changes; and Verrazano notes that instead of using bone, the chief material employed on the coast southward, they used for the most part "emery, jasper and hard marble," meaning white quartz. Brereton in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hands, speaks of "emery stones" and "alabaster very white," which perhaps was nothing but quartz, as true alabaster does not occur.

The fruits of the country appeared to be different from those of France and Italy, while species of trees unknown in Europe were observed. Verrazano also mentions that the natives took the deer in traps, one of the first facts noted by the Pilgrims when they came into the country.

The Letter says that their dwellings were circular, and that sometimes twenty-five or thirty lived in the same house. Roger Williams confirms the statement; while, upon the other hand, whoever wishes to know how Indian houses were represented in Italy, should consult Bordone's *Isole del Mondo*, (Ed. 1528, Book I. 6); and for France, Thevet's *Cosmographie*, (Ed. 1575, II. 1007), where a solid Romanesque architecture, takes the place of the pointed style of Bordone.

This is the place where, according to the Letter, any fleet might ride in safety. In the sketch which accompanies this chapter, it is marked as the gulf of Refuge (*del Refugio*). Here Verrazano notices that the Indians are long-lived, which is confirmed by Williams, Gosnold and Lescarbot. (Nouvelle France, Ed. 1612, p. 770.) The manufacture of mats, mentioned by the Florentine, is confirmed by all writers. There is also abundant confirmation for the statement that the natives were

"kind and charitable towards their relations, making loud lamentations in adversity," and at their death join "in weeping, mingled with singing for a long time." One of the most curious pieces of information given by the Florentine, is the fact that they had a way of curing sickness "by the heat of the fire." Roger Williams describes the process, which consisted of putting the patient in an underground oven intensely heated. (R. I. Coll. I. 158.) This was another curious fact for a Florentine forger to know. Those who wish to learn what was actually taught in Italy on this particular subject, may consult Benzonì. (*Mondo Nuovo*. 1565, p. 55.) This "forger" appears to have indulged in a wholesale correction of standard Italian authorities.

The Letter is characterized by various omissions, it is true, and there is no positive description of the aboriginal money called "Wampum," a currency that did not become of interest to Europeans until long after 1524. Ribault (1562) says nothing about wampum, nor does Ingram (1568), nor Barlow (1585), Pring (1603), nor the Popham Journal (1607). Worse than all, Marco Polo, in his account of China, says nothing about *tea*; a melancholy way of writing history, the critic thinks. Verrazano also fails to mention the use of tobacco, but this is the case with Ribault, Barlow, Ingram and the Popham Journalist. Various writers, after the example of Verrazano, fail to give any specimens of the Indian language. So, likewise, nothing is said about bark canoes, unless indeed the "very light boat" already referred to, was of that character, which is not improbable. This failure to refer to the bark canoe has been considered the "most remarkable omission of all," and the critic says that "this light and beautiful fabric was peculiar to the Algonkin tribes." We shall see, however, that it was not so peculiar to the New England Indians. The truth is that the omission forms a proof of the authenticity of the voyage. We have at present no distinct proof that the bark canoe was used at all on the Rhode Island coast in very early times, while the log canoe was used all along the Atlantic coast nearly as far east as the Bay of Fundy. It is probable that even on the Maine coast, the bark canoe was not often used at the time of Verrazano's voyage farther north; where the trees were small, the use of bark was a necessity. In Maine and Massachusetts the trees were large, and *fire* would build a canoe, a process of naval construction which doubtless prevailed until the introduction of steel knives and hatchets. Then the use became divided, and where canoes were required for inland portages they were made of bark, while for more or less of the rough coast work the log canoe was used. Lescarbot (Nouvelle France, Ed. 1612, pp. 561, 576)

describes their manufacture; and, speaking of the visit of the French to Saco, Maine, he says, "presently the sea was seen all covered over with their [the Savages'] boats, laden with nimble and lusty men holding themselves up straight in them, which we cannot do without danger, those boats being nothing else but trees hollowed out." (Purchas IV. 1633.) The original reads, *des arbres creuses*. Champlain describes the log canoe at Cape Ann, and the mode of its production (*Œuvres*, III. 59-60). The log canoe, the primitive canoe of all nations, was still the representative canoe of New England in 1604, and was the canoe of the Rhode Island coast in 1524. The allusion to it by Verrazano was correct.¹ Altogether the amount of curious and exact information which he gives is remarkable, and it goes far to substantiate the authenticity of his Letter, the curious points of which have been brought out the clearer by adverse criticism.

Of the Harbor of Newport, Verrazano gives an exaggerated yet tolerable description. The wrong latitude given to it in the map will be explained elsewhere. He describes the harbor, properly, as opening towards the south; and "in the midst of the entrance there is a living rock (*pietra viva*) formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor." The island referred to is probably Goat Island, where the lighthouse now stands; while the "shining stones, crystals and alabaster" are referable to the brilliant lime-rocks many years ago cut away to the water's edge by General Cullum, to build the modern forts that protect the city and harbor.

Verrazano left the Bay of Refuge May 5th (16th, new style), and proceeded on his cruise, sailing a hundred and fifty leagues along the coast in sight of land, and without delay, as the wind was fair. He perhaps went outside of the island of Martha's Vineyard, and upon reaching the northern end of Cape Cod, shaped his course for the heights of Plymouth, both to learn the character of Cape Cod Bay and to keep in sight of land, through which he may have hoped to find a strait. In the Letter no mention is made of Cape Cod, but that remarkable place is depicted upon the map, together with the neighboring shoals of Nantucket. Verrazano probably was the first navigator in the sixteenth century who saw Cape Cod, which he rounded, and thus reached a point eastward from the Harbor of Refuge. The highlands of Plymouth and the Blue Hills may have been sighted, after which the course would lie outside of Cape Ann to the borders of Eastern Maine. Here the people appeared rude, like the country, marked on the map, "*mucha*

gente." The natives bartered from the rocks, and gave the French a shower of arrows. Verrazano nevertheless forced a landing, and examined the country. In treating the eighth course he seems still to be describing the Maine coast, and is repeating himself, as he may have done elsewhere. The region reminded him of the Adriatic Gulf, and a comparison of the charts of the two regions will show that the resemblance is striking. Buckingham Smith applied the description to Maine, and conceded that it was admirable. Oddly enough, however, Botero (*Relatio Universale*, 1640, p. 172) confounds this region with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and says that Verrazano counted thirty-seven instead of thirty-two islands, as the Florentine states, while Herrera speaks of fifty-two.

Mr. Smith in his "Inquiry" (p. 17) says: "How any one, following the shore to Nova Scotia—in this instance a mariner on the lookout for a strait opening the way to Cathay, and discovering the series of islands extending along Massachusetts Bay eastward to Cape Sable—should fail to get into the Bay of Fundy, is certainly beyond explanation"; while Mr. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazzano" (p. 56), says that in running this course the Florentine would have "been finally locked in the Bay of Fundy." This might seem to prove conclusively that Verrazano was never on the coast, since he says nothing about the Bay of Fundy. The same argument, however, would apply to Gomez and many others, and thus nearly all the explorers might also be banished. With respect to Verrazano, it may here be explained again that his description was general. Thus neither his Letter nor the Map shows any indication of the Bay. The same is true of Gomez, who explored the coast the year after Verrazano. The map of Ribero, as the reader will perceive by examining the outline, shows the Penobscot River, but eastward, beyond that point, where the peninsula of Nova Scotia should appear, the coast is unbroken. The so-called Gulf of Maine would seem to be represented, yet this is not so, since the cape, which many have supposed to be Cape Cod, is simply Sandy Hook. Dr. Kohl, notwithstanding his intense desire to find the Gulf of Maine, was obliged to concede this point, as Cape Cod is wholly wanting in Ribero's Map. On the other hand, Verrazano gives this famous cape, and beyond it eastward is an indication of the gulf, with two openings still farther east, one of which may be supposed to indicate the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. The first unmistakable attempt to delineate the bay upon a map was that by Homem, who made maps at Venice in 1358. This individual had obtained tolerable ideas of the geography of the region

but he failed to put them in the proper form. The termination of Nova Scotia is indicated upon his map (Maine Coll., s. 2, Vol. I) by the "*beu Sablom*," now Cape Sable, but the Bay of Fundy is greatly exaggerated. The entire coast line between the Penobscot and the St. Croix is abolished, and the space which it represents is devoted to the enlargement of the bay. Speaking of this period, Dr. Kohl says: "None of the great official explorers, so far as I know, had ever seen or described Cape Sable or the Bay of Fundy." After Homem, no map appeared showing the peninsula of Nova Scotia, until Lescarbot published his rude map at Paris in 1612. Champlain's draught of this peninsula, published in 1613, bears a striking resemblance to Homem's, showing that both were influenced by an original map. Those who think that it must have been a very easy task for the first navigator upon the coast should consult Lescarbot, and observe how poorly it was done by him.

The earliest printed description of the peninsula of Nova Scotia which the writer has found is that by Thevet, who purloined the information from some French navigator, and gave it as his own. This description appears to have escaped notice hitherto. At least it is not referred to by Dr. Kohl. Writing of this country, Thevet says: "The coast of Canada, from the Cape of Lorraine [Cape Breton] turning towards the south, projects into the sea, as Italy does between the Adriatic and Ligurian Seas, forming a peninsula." This gives an exact picture of Nova Scotia, yet the knowledge this conveys does not appear to have been utilized until the opening of the seventeenth century, when the expedition of De Monts led to the improvement of the maps of the coast. It may appear remarkable that this prominent feature should have been neglected, but such is the case. Verrazano paid no more attention to the Bay of Fundy than Gomez, Allefonsce and many others. One reason for this possibly is found in the fact that no romance or mystery was ever associated with that bay, while the Penobscot, indicated on nearly every map, was credited with being the seat of a large and wealthy city, the City of Norumbega, which held its place in the imagination of navigators until the dream was dispelled by Champlain. There is, however, no such explanation for the neglect of Cape Cod, which, after being depicted on the Map of Verrazano and described by Oviedo from the now lost map of Chaves, almost disappeared until the opening of the next century. Homem, who came very near making a valuable map, knew that such a cape as Cape Cod *ought* to be represented, but he gave only what he considered should be its name, "C. deserto." The cape itself was not delineated by him, though others,

under the influence of Verrazano, showed some knowledge of its existence. Dr. Kohl fancied that Cape Cod was indicated by "C. Muchas Isles," forgetting that this was a cape near the Penobscot, and overlooking the fact that this name was placed by Homem *east* of "B. Estevan guterres," the latter word being a misspelling of Gomez, whose Bay was the Gulf of Maine. From these and other considerations, the reader will perceive that the failure of Verrazano to describe the foggy Bay of Fundy, where only the most skillful navigator is able to feel his way, is not so remarkable after all. The wonder is that in so short a time he should have observed so much as he did upon a new and unknown coast. Whoever has been baffled for weeks together by the fogs of that region will have nothing to say against Verrazano.

Verrazano next sailed northward again, making, according to Ramusio's version, a hundred and fifty leagues, while according to the statement of Verrazano's Cosmographical Appendix he reached the latitude of 50° N. In the previous chapter the fact is pointed out that there is no real disagreement on the point between the two versions of the Letter. But whether or not he really went so far north as 50° is of little consequence. Nevertheless it is a surprise to find any one assuming that Verrazano meant to teach that the coast up to the limit of his voyage was seen by him for the first time. It is true that he speaks of seeing a land in 34° N. that was never seen before, a remark already pointed out as exculpatory, though by no means suggested by fancy. But the *real* grievance, in the eye of the critic, is found in Verrazano's statement that he had "discovered (*discoperto*) seven hundred leagues and more of new countries." The condemnation of this statement is followed by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 57) with a disquisition proving that Europeans had a "prior knowledge" of those countries. This prior knowledge cannot and need not be denied. It is remarkable that any one should suppose this prior knowledge to be in the slightest degree inconsistent with the statement of Verrazano, that he had "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries. The facts were always perfectly understood. Ramusio² states that Aubert in the *Pensee* had visited Canada in 1508, from which time and long before, the region of Cape Breton, Newfoundland and Labrador was continuously visited by Basques, Bretons and Portuguese, the latter having gone to 50° N. and probably farther. To represent either Verrazano or Cartier as the first European who saw the country would be absurd. When Cartier, in 1534, explored the gulf of St. Lawrence, he was piloted to a harbor by a French vessel whose commander was

familiar with the ground. The next year, when he reached Quebec, the natives, who had already seen more Europeans than they wished to see, tried to frighten him away, and also used words proving that they had been in previous communication with the French. As early as 1527 there was a considerable fleet of various nationalities that for a long time had been accustomed to visit St. John's. These things were well-known in Europe, where no person of the commonest geographical information could be ignorant of what was so notorious. Every tyro knew of the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and of the fleets annually sailing thither; therefore to suppose that the author of the Verrazano Letter, whoever he may have been, was ignorant of the facts, and represented the navigator as opening up a country never before visited by Europeans, is indefensible.

The Letter, however, was written by a man conversant with science and with the progress of maritime discovery, who, as already pointed out, even knew that no lunar eclipse took place during the voyage of Verrazano. What, then, did Verrazano mean, by saying that he "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries? This brings us face to face with the truth which may not be forgotten in such a connection, namely: That the meaning of "discover" (*discoperto*) has changed and narrowed since Verrazano and other earlier writers described our coasts. Verrazano meant just what Barlow meant, when, in 1584, he said that his expedition "discovered part of the country now called Virginia." Again, he meant what the Dutch taught in 1614, by saying that they had "discovered and found" "new lands between New France and Virginia, the sea coast whereof lies between forty and forty-five degrees." (Holland Doc. I. 11.) All this region had been visited and mapped by both French and English, as the Dutch well knew. The word "discover," therefore signified to explore or survey. This was the sense in which Verrazano used the term, and it will be impossible to force any other interpretation of his words.

It is said by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 39, *n*) that the "*Voyages Aventureux*," attributed to Allefonsce, and published in 1559, "gives almost a contemporary denial * * of the Verrazano discovery of the country." The view is based upon the statement of the work in question, that the river of Norumbega "is newly discovered by the Portuguese and Spaniards." This work, however, is not the work of Allefonsce. Respecting the force of the terms, it may be said that "newly" signifies either "recently" or "anew." If the latter, then the declaration is that Norumbega had been rediscovered by the

Portuguese and Spaniards. If, on the other hand, it was intended to mean that in 1559 it had lately been discovered for the first time, the statement also gives a denial to the voyage of Allefonsce, who sailed on the New England coast, and wrote of Norumbega nearly twenty years before. It also discredits the voyage of Gomez in 1525, notwithstanding Norumbega was the region called by his name. The truth is that all the compiler of the work, incorrectly attributed to Allefonsce, meant was that Norumbega had been re-explored recently by the Portuguese and Spaniards. Still, even if the language in question *did* give a denial to the Verrazano discovery, such denial would have no force, in the face of the incontrovertible fact, that in 1529 the brother of Verrazano laid down Norumbega upon his map, which represented the navigator's voyage. On this map, a copy of which was presented to Henry VIII., some distance southwest of Cape Breton is found "Oranbega," simply a form of Norumbega, so variously rendered on the old charts.

Verrazano does not mention seeing any fishing vessels around Cape Breton, and in fact may not have seen any. Ships often steam from New York to the Irish coast to-day without sighting a sail. Yet Verrazano, like all the world, knew that fishermen were there. Such cheap information might well have been introduced by a forger devising an imaginary voyage, but it was not required on the part of a veritable explorer like Verrazano. Therefore it is that we find him making no effort to describe the northern regions, already so well known, while the regions to the south, about which Europe would desire information, he describes with the greatest particularity.

In his brief *resumé* of the voyage Verrazano makes a poor account of distances, which Humboldt assures us are of little use in such connections; while respecting the courses sailed he is hardly more exact, only three of the many are given between Newport and Newfoundland. To criticise such a general narrative with the measuring rod in hand, would be both unscientific and unjust. The author of the Letter teaches that his statements in this respect are of a general character, where he informs the King that accounts of his explorations would be found in the "book," which he hopes "may prove serviceable" to navigators, saying; "We therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another."

To recapitulate the points of the voyage of Verrazano would be to

repeat nearly the whole chapter. It must, therefore, suffice to remind the reader of the fact, that at every stage of the exploration we have the careful, yet unstudied narration of an actual voyager. Proceeding from south to north, the character of the country, the people and its productions, undergo their proper changes. This takes place without any effort on the part of the writer to indicate that his knowledge is superior. The most curious facts are stated without any triumph or ostentation. The spirit of the literary forger is nowhere to be found. In the description of the voyage is discovered a simple, plain and modest attempt to state in general terms what the navigator observed in passing along the coast of a new and unexplored country. The truthfulness of his narrative has been attested by witnesses of the greatest value, since no higher compliment can be paid to a traveler than to have his descriptions recognized as truthful, and copied by those who come after him. This, however, was done by successive writers and observers for nearly a hundred years, during which time the achievements of Verrazano exerted a marked influence upon American exploration. Thus the Dieppe Captain, Allefonsce, Ribault, Barlow, Archer and Gosnold all give the highest testimony to the authenticity of the voyage, which adverse criticism has assailed in vain.

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ See Steinitz on "The Ship;" Pinkerton's Voyages (XIII); De Bry's "*Perigrinationes in Americam*" (Pars I, ed. 1590, Plate 12).

² If Ramusio "worked over" the Letter of Verrazano, why did he not square the statements of the Letter with the voyage of Aubert and others, which he published in the same work with Verrazano's?

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF PHILIP
VAN CORTLANDT

BRIGADIER-GENERAL
IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

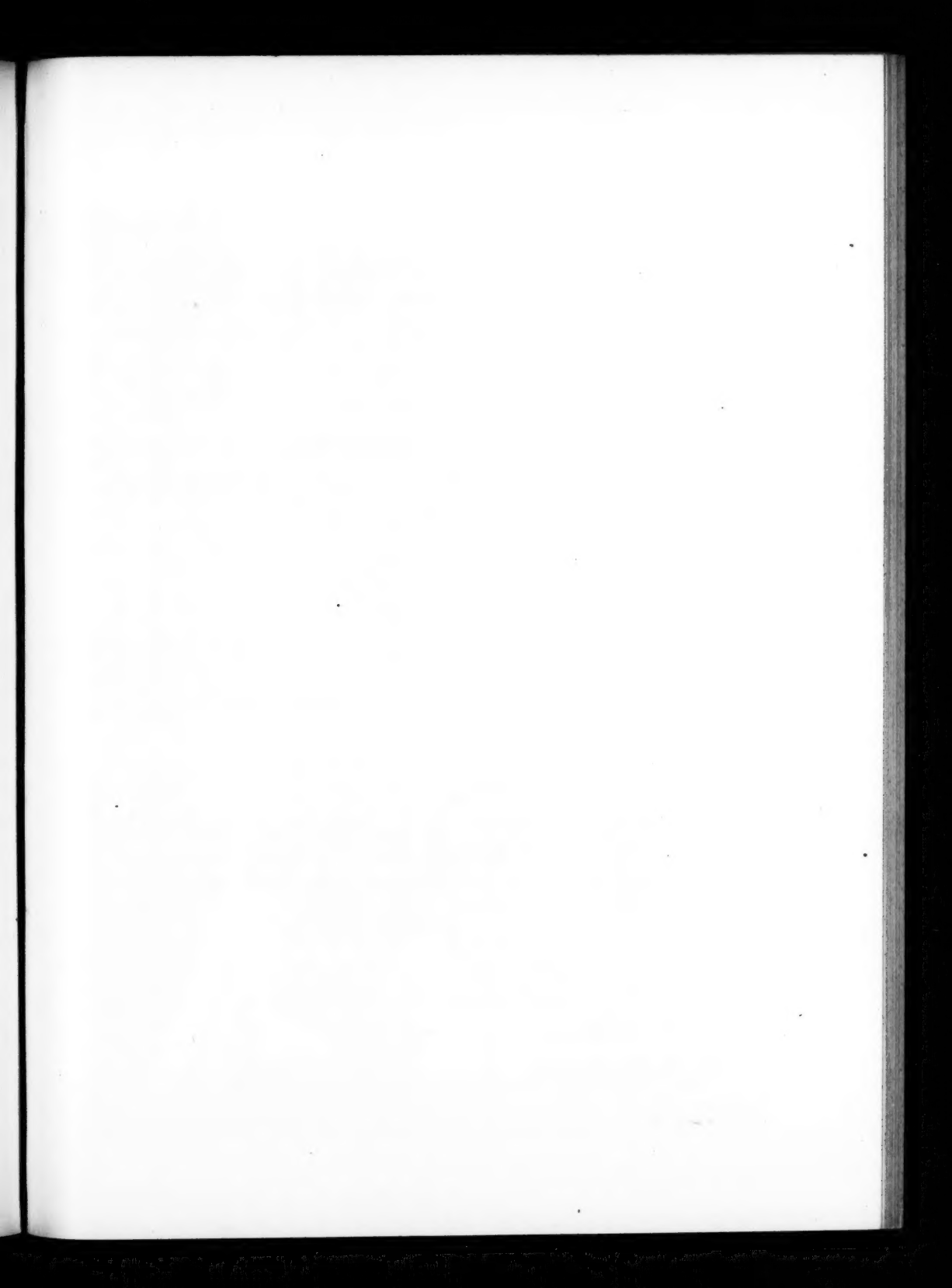
Communicated by Dr. Pierre C. Van Wyck.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern, that General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Town of Cortlandt, in the County of Westchester and State of New York, eldest son of Pierre Van Cortlandt and Joanna Livingston his wife, was born in the City of New York in a house in Stone Street, near the Fort, on the 21st day of August, old style, 1749, which makes his anniversary birthday the 1st day of September, new style.

Shortly after the decease of his grandfather, the Hon. Philip Van Cortlandt, he was born, and his father and mother removed to their Manor of Cortlandt and possessed the house and lot at Croton, the house having been built, and together with the lot of land, given in entail to the said Pierre Van Cortlandt during his life, then to his eldest son. The above is as related to the son by the father and mother, who now certifies of his own knowledge and memory as follows:—I remember three sisters, Catherine, Cornelia and Gertrude; the last died when about eleven years old. I remember three brothers, Gilbert, Stephen and Pierre; Stephen died in the year 1775, after I left him at Croton when I went as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Revolutionary army. The youngest sister, Ann, was born at Croton, where all my brothers and sisters were born. My sister Catherine was married to Abraham Van Wyck, son of Theodorus Van Wyck, of New York, and has three sons; the

youngest, Philip G. Van Wyck, was born after the death of his father. Sister Cornelia married Gerard G. Beekman, Jr., son of Gerard G. Beekman, of New York, and has had three sons and one daughter, Gerard, Pierre Cortlandt, Ann and Stephen. Pierre Cortlandt was a very fine, good young man; he died in the West Indies. Her husband died at the Mills, where she now resides. Sister Ann married Philip S. Van Rensselaer, who was a long time Mayor of Albany; he died in the year 1824 at his house in Albany, where my sister now resides. My brother Gilbert died in New York in the 29th year of his age of a white swelling, which, by improper treatment through the ignorance of a doctor, brought on a mortification of which he died—a truly patient and penitent man. My Brother Pierre married Catherine Clinton, who died without issue. He then married Ann Stevenson, who died after leaving a son Pierre, who is a fine youth, and I hope will live and become a fine and worthy man.

In my youthful days my father had a small school-house built on this farm about half a mile from the house, where I was taught, in company with my sisters and brothers and a few children of the neighbors, by a common schoolmaster, to read, write badly, and something of arithmetic until the age of fifteen, when I was sent to Coldenham Academy, under the tuition of a young Scotchman whom Cadwalader Colden had employed to conduct the school. His name was William Adams, who afterwards became a doctor, and died in Mount Pleasant. I remained with Adams about nine months and applied closely to my





CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, CROTON, N. Y.

studies, and learned arithmetic, surveying, mensuration, book-keeping, dialing, guaging and logarithms, &c., &c. On hearing of the death of my uncle and friend, Captain Samuel Livingston, my mother's brother who was drowned at sea, I left the academy and was frequently engaged with Nathaniel Merritt, a surveyor, who was mostly in the employ of my father and his friends, until I became a practical surveyor myself, and was frequently employed by heirs of my great-grandfather, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, surveying and disposing of lands in the Manor of Cortlandt. I was also engaged in the milling business by the assistance and approbation of my father, and also in keeping a small retail store.

During this period my father was a member of the Legislature, and one of the number opposed to the odious encroachments of the Crown, and when every art and address was made use of to seduce members to join their party, I remember Governor Tryon came on a visit, bringing his wife and a young lady, who was a daughter of the Hon. John Wátts, a relation of my father's, and Colonel Edmund Fanning, his friend and secretary; and after remaining a night he proposed a walk, and after proceeding to the highest point of land on the farm, being a height which affords a most delightful prospect, the Governor commenced with observing what great favors could be obtained if my father would relinquish his opposition to the views of the King and Parliament of Great Britain, what grants of land could and would be the consequence in addition to other favors of immense

consequence, &c., &c. My father then observed that he was chosen a representative by unanimous approbation of a people who placed a confidence in his integrity to use all his ability for their benefit and the good of his country as a true patriot, which line of conduct he was determined to pursue. The Governor then turned to Colonel Fanning and said: "I find that our business here must terminate, for nothing can be effected in this place, so we will return;" which they did by taking a short and hasty farewell, and embarked on board the sloop and returned to New York; this was in the year 1774. Previous to this Governor Tryon had introduced the raising of companies of militia and granting commissions to officers as Tryon's Guards, and among them sent me a commission as Major, and as such I exercised the regiment in the Manor of Cortlandt, of which James Ver Planck was Colonel. I was also frequently taken by my Tory relations to dine at the Fort with the Governor, and at other times with their own families, hoping, perhaps, to prejudice me in their favor. But they were mistaken; for in the spring of the year 1775, observing that a crisis was fast approaching, when it would be necessary to take an active position either for or against our country, I did not hesitate, but immediately declared my intention of risking all my property and life, if necessary, in the defence of my country. I did so, and was elected in the County of Westchester, in which I lived, a member of the State Convention. The battle at Lexington and Concord having taken place, and Ethan Allen having taken Ticonderoga, and

Congress having determined to send troops to Canada, I was solicited to take a command as Lieutenant-Colonel under James Holmes, in the Fourth Battalion of New York Troops, to be commissioned by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Richard Montgomery to be the General in command. My assent was no longer withheld than to obtain the full approbation of my parents, which was immediately complied with, and I received the commission dated the 18th of June, 1775, and was ordered on command, without loss of time, to Albany, there to discipline, equip and forward on the troops, having left at my departure my two brothers, Gilbert and Stephen, at the point of death with the malignant sore throat, one of which I never saw afterward, as Stephen died a few days after my departure, in his fifteenth year. Thus I left my friends and all my property, among which was a store of goods and debts due me from an abandoned set of Tories, almost all of which became a total loss.

My anxiety and trials were, from the time I received the commission, many, considering my youth and inexperience. The first was at Newtown, on Long Island, where I mustered a company under command of Captain Abm. Riker; the men had enlisted under a promise of clothing, &c., and requested of me if they could depend on having them, when upon hearing the negative, they all walked off, said they were sorry but could not continue, whereupon I gave them my promise that I would furnish them out of my own purse, on which they returned with cheers of applause. My next business was to inform the

Convention in New York what I had promised, which produced the desired resolution, that not only that company, but all the troops should be provided with clothing, &c., as I had prescribed for them. My next trouble was at Albany, for on the arrival of recruits without arms or tents, I had first to detain the sloop that brought them, or hire houses to accommodate them all, which I had to advance pay for at a high price, and to keep them with me, to advance my own money and borrow of a friend sufficient to pay one dollar each to upwards of 350 soldiers. At length I took possession of what I found out to be the King's store, which I made use of as a barrack for the men, but want of more cash at length produced a serious mutiny, and at the time when I received the disagreeable news of my brother's decease. Having perused the letter giving the information, I dismissed the parade, consisting of about 400 men as yet without arms, and retired to my room, grieving for the loss of my favorite brother. In about one hour two of my officers came and informed me that 181 of the men had gone off, and that all the rest were preparing to follow them unless I could prevent them. I took my sword in my hand, and went with them to the barracks, where I found the men in great disorder; but passing that all might see me, without speaking to any of them, until I had resolved how to conduct myself so as first to alarm, then to soothe their passions in my favor if possible, I therefore enjoined it on the two officers to prevent, by seizing my hands, any injury to be done to any one with my sword, which I am happy to say was ef-

fected, and all in a few minutes became my friends, and volunteers brought back the deserters, who were pardoned by and with the consent of Colonel Van Schaack, who fortunately arrived to my assistance. All the troops having passed, I followed, although unwell, to Ticonderoga, where I was confined with a fever, and for some time at the point of death, and in my convalescent state, General Schuyler brought me to his house in Albany, after which he permitted me to return and visit my friends during the remaining part of the winter, and until I should receive further orders. During this period my Colonel, James Holmes, left our service, and Colonel Jacobus Wynkoop was appointed to take the command of the Fourth Regiment, and early in the spring of 1776, ordered to command at Ticonderoga. Not hearing from General Schuyler, I went to New York and waited on the Commander-in-Chief, General Washington, who expected the British Army from Boston intended to attack the City of New York, who gave me orders to go to General Schuyler, where I should be directed how the regiment should be disposed of, either to the north, or to join the grand army under his command. The result was, General Schuyler sent me to my regiment at Ticonderoga, when our army retreated from Canada. General Gates arrived and commanded at Ticonderoga, and sent Colonel Wynkoop to Skenesborough, myself being ordered on a court-martial continued for the trial of Colonel Moses Hazen, arrested by General Arnold for disobedience of orders. I remained time sufficient to discover the

vile conduct of Arnold, in procuring a vast quantity of goods from the merchants of Montreal, which he intended, and which I believe was appropriated to his benefit, and also for improper conduct before the court. He would have been arrested himself, but escaped by procuring an order from General Gates to send me, the morning after the court had adjourned, to Skenesborough, by which means the court was dissolved, Hazen released from arrest, and Arnold escaped censure which he ought to have had.

On my arrival at Skenesborough, I found my Colonel, Wynkoop, very unwell, and he directed me to command and forward on the troops arriving from Connecticut and elsewhere, also to direct and superintend the building of three row gallies on the stocks, at the time under the direction of three ship carpenters. I continued in command until taking the fever and ague, and Colonel Wynkoop recovered so as to command himself; I obtained a furlough from General Gates to ride south for the recovery of my health. I therefore left camp and proceeded on south until I arrived at the head-quarters of General Washington, near Kingsbridge, at the house of my kinsman, Colonel James Van Cortlandt, the day the British landed at Throg's Neck, where a partial engagement took place, and the General said he had lost about thirty men. I remained a few days as aid to the Commander-in-Chief, and paid a visit to Lieutenant-Colonel Weissenfels, of the Second New York Regiment, Colonel Ritzema being absent pretending to be unwell. Finding myself much relieved

from the ague, I took leave of General Washington and returned; but having been overtaken with rain the fever was renewed, and at Rhinebeck the landlord of the tavern gave me Port wine in which bitter herbs were infused, that was so powerful as to deprive me of understanding for ten minutes, which much alarmed my friend, Mr. Bell, and also the landlord, fearing I would never recover; but thank God I did recover, and have not been troubled with ague since that time. I then returned to Skenesborough in perfect health.

After I left General Washington, the battle of White Plains took place, and the Second New York Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Weissenfels, was engaged, Colonel Ritze-
ma being absent about four or five miles in the rear, either from cowardice or disaffection, perhaps both, for he shortly after, discharging many of the men enlisted for the war, absconded himself by going to the enemy in New York, soon after which an express arrived at Skenesborough with a commission from Congress. This commission was sent by General Washington by express, and was of his own direction, having been furnished with blanks from Congress signed by John Hancock, President, for him to fill up as he thought proper, appointing me Colonel of the Second New York Regiment, dated 30th of November, 1776. I then, after taking an affectionate leave of Colonel Wynkoop, set away in search of my Regiment. Passing through New Jersey with my servant and friend, Mr. Seabring, I was near being captured by the enemy at Pluckemin. I passed from a friend's

house, near Pluckemin, who sheltered me a night, to New Germantown, and saw my sister Catharine a few days before she lay in with the birth of her eldest son, Theodore. I then proceeded on, crossing the Delaware, and arrived at the cross roads in Bucks County, in the State of Pennsylvania, on the evening of the 24th of December. The next morning my horse was foundered in such a bad manner as not to proceed. In the course of the day Captain Benj. Pelton, of the Second New York Regiment came, and, suspecting that the capture of the Hessians at Trenton was contemplated by General Washington, I took my servant's horse, and with the Captain, proceeded towards Trenton. A storm of hail, snow and rain came on and I lost my way, but seeing, after some time, a light, I made a house where a Quaker lived, and he informed me that I was three miles from Trenton and perhaps might get lost again, but was welcome to remain with him. I did so, and at the break of day heard the firing, which soon terminated in the capture of the enemy. I saw the prisoners, and Colonel Weissenfels informed me that General Washington had ordered him to Fishkill in order to recruit the regiment, and was then on his march for that purpose. I told him to proceed, and after my horse recovered, I would follow and join him, which I did, after making a short visit in Philadelphia, and passing through Morristown, paying my respects to the Commander-in-Chief after the battle of Princeton, on which account, as well at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, I had the pleasure to congratulate him, although I had not the good

fortune to be present. On parting from the General he directed me to use exertion to recruit and discipline my regiment, so as to be ready for active service in the ensuing spring. I then proceeded on to Fishkill and sent out several recruiting parties who enlisted several men, but not equal to my expectation; however, I was ordered in the spring of 1777 to Peekskill, together with the Fourth Regiment, now under the command of Colonel Henry B. Livingston, who was promoted on the resignation of Colonel Wynkoop. It was not long before a number of British ships and transports appeared, and landed a considerable force, much superior to our troops, when General McDougal, who commanded, ordered our troops to take post on Gallows Hill, about two miles in the rear, which movement permitted the enemy to effect their object, which was to destroy the stores which we could not remove, and burn a schooner which belonged to me and worth \$750, for which I could never obtain compensation. They remained until we received a reinforcement under Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, who made a successful attack on their advance guard, when they retired to the ships and went away.

Shortly after, on the arrival of parts of Colonels Chandler and Durkee's regiments from the eastern states, I was ordered with a select battalion to cross the Hudson and proceed on the west side to the town of Bergen, opposite to the City of New York, capture the enemy's guards, if any were found in my route, of which I did surprise one sergeant's guard, but captured only three men, in or near the town, and brought

off all the black cattle and horses, to a considerable number, out of the power of the enemy, without sustaining any loss, much to the approbation of General McDougal and Major-General Putnam, whose Aide-de-Camp—Colonel Aaron Burr—informed me that during my absence Colonel Livingston had been ordered on command to the White Plains with his regiment and many of my men, but had left our tents in charge of a small guard, and that General Putnam's orders were that I should take the remaining men, leaving our tents standing, as Livingston had done, and follow him. I answered, as I was the eldest in rank, it was using Colonel Livingston very unkindly to supersede him before he had committed any fault. He replied that the General would write a letter of apology, and, as I was better acquainted with the country, I must proceed. I collected the men to the number of about 150, and officers, and marched that afternoon, hoping to surprise a galley at Teller's point, which I should have accomplished that night if the man who was to have taken cattle on board had arrived in time; he did not, and I was disappointed. I then proceeded on, and after Colonel Livingston received the letter General Putnam sent, requested that he might go to headquarters and procure an order for a board of officers to settle our rank. I consented, and he left me in command of about 500 men, rank and file, and was soon reinforced by a Captain Webb and a troop of thirty-six horse, and a Captain's company of nine months' men, making my command about 600 effective men. During my command on the lines

opposing a line of redoubts, extending from Morrisania to the North River on the heights, contiguous to each other, amounting to five in number; and Fort Washington, about three miles nearer to New York, to about 2,500 men in all, and my nearest reinforcement twenty-five miles distant to Peeksville, and my command at no time more than ten miles distant from them, and frequently in sight of one of the redoubts, caused my duty to be exceeding severe. I shifted my quarters often, for if they could ascertain where to find me at night, they might surround me in a few hours and attack me with three times my number, but they could not find an opportunity. In daylight I always defied and thus kept them within their works. Thus, for seven weeks I remained guarding the neutral ground, once alarming all their redoubts at day-break and one of them at another time.

One morning a Mr. Williams, son of Erasmus Williams, came to me in East Chester; said he had been a prisoner in the New Gaol, New York, for several months, but was sent by an aid of General Howe on his promise to carry a letter to General Burgoyne, which he took from a fold where it was sewed in his coat, in the words following, on a small piece of silk paper :

TO GENERAL BURGUYNE :

Our destination is changed. Instead of going to S. D., we shall in three days sail for B. N. Regulate your conduct accordingly.

HOWE.

I asked if General Howe knew that his father was one of the State Convention of New York. He said he had informed him, but he gave no writing,

and his determination was to carry the letter to the first officer he found. I sent him to General Putnam, and never saw him after. Shortly after, I received an order to attend headquarters (at B——.) I set off immediately, crossed Kings Ferry, and met near it a person who informed me that headquarters was passing through Smith's Clove, but as I might find the road filled with troops passing, I might by a short road through the mountains arrive at Jones' tavern as soon as their advance could. I did so, and about sunset saw Generals Greene and Knox, who detained me; and before I retired to sleep I told them of Williams and the letter which I sent to General Putnam, who showed them the resolves of Congress as to York.

In the morning they both accompanied me to headquarters, where we found General Washington at breakfast with a great number of officers. General Greene sat with his Excellency some short time, and retired from the table. He then returned and sent me to the Commander-in-Chief, who made enquiry respecting my command in Westchester, on the lines, and if I had seen a fleet sail up the Sound. I answered that I had seen two or three hundred shallops, escorted by an armed brig and schooner, going to Lloyd's Neck for forage for the fleet destined to the Chesapeake, and then mentioned the letter of Williams, and wished that the Court of Enquiry respecting Livingston's rank might take place, as I was anxious to return to my command. He answered: "As to the rank it is already settled; I wish you immediately to return to your command;" which I

did, after taking leave of Generals Greene and Knox. On my return that morning I met Colonel Livingston, and to his enquiries I referred him to General Washington, who had sent me back to my command. So we parted; and the army, I soon heard, was marching towards Philadelphia.

Shortly after my arrival on the lines I received orders to march to Albany, which I performed by first marching by land to Fishkill, where we received a small supply of necessaries, and embarked on board sloops, having both the Second and Fourth regiments under my command, and passing Albany, encamped with the Hampshire troops above the Cohoes Falls, at a place called Loudon's Ferry, where I remained two days, and was ordered to advance to the relief of Fort Stanwix, now besieged by St. Leger, a British officer, and Indians. General Poor permitted me to take his wagons as far as Schenectady, when they returned to him. I then applied to Henry Glenn, the Quartermaster, but was detained almost all day Sunday before I could proceed; however, I marched on until information was received that the enemy had retired and General Arnold was returning—Lieutenant-Colonel Willett had made a sally from the fort and harassed the rear of the enemy, &c. I then was ordered to join General Poor and the New Hampshire troops at Van Schaack's Island, and continued annexed to that brigade on our advance to Stillwater, where our army made a stand to oppose Burgoyne's army now approaching, but made a stand at Saratoga. Our army was encamped: our right on the river and

extending west, Morgan's Riflemen the extreme and Poor's brigade next, making part of General Arnold's command.

One day at dinner [Sep. 17] with General Arnold, we were informed that the enemy had a reconnoitering gun-boat, that proceeded every night down the river in sight of our advance guard and then returned; upon which I observed, if I was permitted to take a command of my men I would that night capture them, if a few bateaux with muffled oars could be fitted for me. He answered, "prepare your men, four boats are at your service." I proceeded as far up as Fish Creek, where I concealed my boats and waited the approach of the gun-boat, which did not arrive; the reason was the enemy had, the day previous, advanced from Saratoga and was encamped south west from blind Moore's, at whose house, about half a mile from me, they had an advance guard which my patrolling officer discovered. I then resolved to surprise that guard, not knowing that their army was near. I moved to the south-west in order to surround them, which brought me to a fence where I halted my men, and in order to ascertain the best place to make my attack on the guard, I advanced in company with Mathew Clarkson [since made a General] in the field. The morning being very foggy, I did not see the sentinels of the enemy until I had passed and was challenged, but an owl croaking deceived the sentinel, and we stood still until I discovered we were near the tents of the enemy, who were lighting up their fires as far as I could discover, and was certain all their army was there, with their right wing extending south west a considerable distance.

I then retired silently to the road I had just left, near the river, and stopped at a house on an eminence, which was empty, and sent a non-commissioned officer express to inform Generals Arnold and Poor and Colonel Morgan that the enemy were advancing, so that they might make arrangements immediately to check their advance, which was done, for Colonel Morgan had a skirmish with their advance guard the same day which had the desired effect, of forcing them to the left, nearer the river, and more in our front, which was a fortunate circumstance, for had they that day passed our left, they might, by a forced march, have proceeded to Albany, for they would have had possession of the heights all the way, and we must have approached them with disadvantage, but as it was, the next day we met their advance on equal ground, and a severe engagement was the consequence. I am happy to say that my discovery of the enemy's advance saved the capture of the City of Albany.

On the forenoon of the 19th of September, the enemy was discovered moving towards our left, and the action commenced first with Colonel Morgan's riflemen, and reinforced by regiments, one after another, as the enemy also reinforced, until the battle became very general, although conducted by the Colonels until about two o'clock. My regiment was ordered to march on, keeping to the left, in order to oppose their right, and to engage if I found it necessary, and if I did, that the regiment commanded by Colonel Livingston, who had joined me but two days before, should reinforce me; this order was given me first by General Poor on my

parade; and as I was marching also, by General Arnold. I discovered their advance far from their main body, and was determined to attack them and arrest their progress, and sent by the Adjutant Lieutenant Marshall to inform Colonel Livingston, and direct him to support me, which order he disobeyed and fell off to the right, leaving me to contend first with the Hessians' advance of riflemen which I defeated, and who run off; but their place was instantly supplied by the British light infantry, whom we fought upwards of an hour, at which time the Hessians had rallied and gained my left; and finding it necessary to fall back with my left, so as to prevent their gaining on it, and to oppose my front to both in case they persisted, the sun having now set, and my position a favorable one—on a foot-path which I had observed at the foot of falling ground, at least three feet lower than the level I had fought them on—and had time to direct my officers to wait their approach, it being now dark, and not fire until the enemy did, and then directly below the flash of the enemy's fire, which was done, and proved successful, as the enemy's fire went over our heads and our fire had full effect, they being very near before they discovered us—I suppose not more than four or five rods. My loss of killed and wounded was two out of eleven; Colonel Cilley's, of our brigade, by the field return made the next day, was one out of seven, and his was more than any other regiment engaged, except mine, and he fought from the first of the action, being near to Colonel Morgan when it commenced. After my fire had injured the light infantry we

soon parted, he [their commander] marched to his encampment and I returned to mine, so we informed each other at Albany, when I met him after the surrender (he having a parole and I leave of absence for a few days); and he told me the last fire injured him very severely, more than any all the day.

The enemy did not attempt any further movement until the 7th day of October, when they advanced and were met by our army, and a very severe engagement took place, I being yet with Poor's Brigade and advancing, the British retiring towards their battery, as the Hessians were towards theirs. General Arnold, now in the field and in sight of their nine gun battery, sent his aid to the right, ordering General Poor to bring his men into better order as we were pursuing; this order arrested our progress and prevented our taking the British battery in less than ten minutes, as we should have entered it almost as soon as the British, as Morgan did that of the Hessians, which Arnold discovered after sending the above order to General Poor, and as he had also sent another order to the left by his other aid, he now rode as fast as he could to counteract his own orders, hurrying on the left, and entered the Hessian battery, where he was wounded. Finding it too late after the British had gained their battery and rallied after their panic, and could again fire their cannon at us (which they could not do when they were running before us) we found it too late and had orders to retire to our encampment, it being near night. The next morning our brigade was ordered out at daybreak, and we found that the

enemy was gone from the battery and had retired towards the left, keeping possession of the highlands near the river, which were defended by works and mounted cannon, near which General Lincoln was wounded. The following night they retreated to Saratoga, where they surrendered a few days afterwards. As no further fighting could be expected there, I accompanied Adjutant General Wilkinson to Albany, and remained until the arrival of General Poor's brigade, who had orders to proceed down the Hudson, with two brass 24-pounders, to annoy the fleet and army which were burning Kingston and houses as far up as Red Hook.

The brigade marched near the river until we found that the enemy had retired; then we took the main road near to Kinderhook, and upon General Poor being taken sick and unable to command, I, being the eldest officer, marched to Fishkill, and delayed a few days for the men to cure for the itch in the barracks at that place with hogs fat and brimstone; the York troops in the upper and the Hampshire troops in the lower barracks. Going one evening to visit a friend, I had to pass the lower barracks, where the New Hampshire troops were stationed, when, coming within sight, I met several soldiers bearing in a blanket Captain Beal, one of the officers, who was wounded, of which he died the next day. On inquiry, I found he had attempted to stop the troops who had mutinied and were on the march, headed by a Sergeant, whom the Captain had run through the body with his sword, and the Sergeant, as he fell, fired and

shot the Captain; so they both died. In the confusion I came and had the address to restore order by alluring them first back to their parade by the barracks, which was near, and then in a long harangue or speech pointing out the impropriety of their conduct, and promising pardon when the General should arrive. I succeeded in having my order obeyed when I sent them to their barracks. The General did not overtake me until we arrived in Pennsylvania, when we joined the army under General Washington. We remained at White Marsh until the enemy came out to Chestnut Hill, when, after some skirmishing and the loss of my friend, Major Morris, of Colonel Morgan's Riflemen, we marched and crossed the Schuylkill, and halted at Valley Forge. Shortly after our arrival it pleased his Excellency General Washington to send me with a battalion on the lines to a place called Radner Meeting House, nine miles from the City of Philadelphia, and about twenty-four miles in advance of the encampment at Valley Forge, where I remained a considerable time when relieved; and as soon as it was ascertained that the enemy intended to leave Philadelphia, General Hand, the Adjutant General, came and informed me that I was to remain when the army marched, and to have the command of and superintend the encampment. This I told him could not be; for the roster could not so soon, after my command at Radner on the lines, bring me again for duty, and informed him that I would go and make my complaint to the Commander-in-Chief. He smiled, and said "Do so."

I went; but after saying what I thought sufficient respecting an engagement, &c., was convinced that it was his selection, saying to me: "Sir, this is an important command, &c." And the General further observed that it was not always convenient to have recourse to the military roster when a confidential officer was wanted for a particular purpose.

When the army marched there were upwards of 3,000 men left in the encampment and at the hospitals, of which number I sent off about 2,500, the rest being truly so unwell as not to be able. There I remained during the battle at Monmouth Court House; my regiment was engaged and behaved well, and I could have been happy if present, but was doing what the General had directed, and of course doing my duty.

The fever raged violently, and I lost my friends Dr. Haviland and Captain Ryker, my old faithful servant and soldier, Mr. Lent, besides many others. The fever resembled the yellow fever. After forwarding my returns to his excellency, and being relieved by Colonel Craig, of the Pennsylvania line, I took a turn to visit the City of Philadelphia, on my way to join my regiment, which I found encamped with the main army at the White Plains (this was during General Sullivan's and General Lafayette's expedition on Rhode Island); and on our retiring, while we lay at Fredericksburg, I applied for a furlough to visit my friends; the General said, when Colonel Livingston came to camp he would indulge me, and asked me to dine with him the next day. I went, and the General informed me that Colonel Livingston had

arrived, and although he had been absent almost all the campaign, came to ask leave of absence. When the General refused, he took his commission from his pocket and handed it to the General, who, although he felt indignant at such behavior, replied: "It is not my practice to receive resignations, but you are at liberty to go and resign your commission to Congress;" and said, "he has just left me for that purpose." And on obtaining a furlough, I paid a visit to see my friends for a few days, when being informed by Governor Clinton, that he had requested of General Washington to send my regiment to guard the frontiers, where Brant, the Indian, was making depredations, having already burned and destroyed several houses, and murdered men, women and children, I immediately went to my regiment, then near Poughkeepsie, and proceeded across the North River as far as Rochester, in Ulster County, and placed a guard at Laghawack, where I had a block-house, and cautioned my men, so as to effectually guard the frontiers in that county during the winter of 1778 and 1779.

In the spring of 1779, having information that Brant was stationed at Coke house, on the Delaware, I took about two hundred and fifty men and set off to surprise him. However, on the march an express from General Washington overtook me with orders to proceed to Fort Penn, in the State of Pennsylvania, there to receive orders from General Sullivan. I returned, and was preparing for my march, first sending for the militia to take my place; this was the third day of April. In the morning, as

I was about marching from my encampment, having called in my guard from the block-house at Laghawack, I discovered smoke rising from the village, about six miles south, and a lad sent from its vicinity informed me that the Indians were there burning and destroying. It was occasioned by two of my men deserting in the mountains when I had received the order to return, for they went to Brant, and informed him that I was ordered away, and he expected that I was gone, for it took several days before I had received wagons, &c., and for Col. Cantine to come on with the militia, who arrived in the course of that day. On my approach Brant ran off. He had about 150 Indians, and as I approached him, he being on the hill, seeing me leaning against a pine tree, waiting the closing up of my men, he ordered a rifle Indian to kill me, but he overshot me, the ball passing three inches over my head. I then pursued him, but could not overtake him, as he ran through a large swamp beyond the hill, and Col. Cantine being also in pursuit, I returned, not having any prospect of overtaking him. The second day after pursued my march to Fort Penn as ordered by the Commander-in-Chief, and there received Gen. Sullivan's orders, who sent me reinforcements to make a road through the wilderness to Wilkesbarre, on the Susquehanna, being thirty miles, and passing the Great Swamp, which duty was performed with 600 men in thirty days. On my arrival I took post advanced of the troops under the command of General Hand, and waited the arrival of General Sullivan, who marched on the road I had made with Gen. Max-

well's and General Poor's brigades. Our army proceeded up the River Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where I was ordered to meet Gen. Clinton, who was on his march from Lake Otsego, and joined him at Owego, and accompanied him to Tioga.

After some skirmishing with the Indians at Chemung, we arrived near Newtown, where Brant and Butler had determined to make their stand and oppose our farther progress if possible. The action commenced at sunrise, first with General Hand's riflemen, and reinforced by Maxwell and Poor's brigades, until about 9 o'clock, when General Clinton's brigade was ordered to the right of the whole, where he had to mount the hill, which was mostly occupied by the Indians. I requested of General Clinton to permit me to charge with bayonets as soon as I gained the height on the flank of the Indians. He consented, and ordered the charge to be made, he leading the first regiment himself, and I the second, which ended the battle in five minutes. They ran and left their dead, which they seldom do, unless obliged to leave them, and here they were. Thus ended the battle at Newtown, in which not a man of the New York Brigade was either killed or wounded, although several men in the other brigades.

The army then advanced through Catherine's Town and between Seneca and Cayuga Lakes, and forded the outlet of Seneca through Geneva, Canandaigua to Honoye Lake, where we encamped, and made a crossing over the outlet. Here I took nine catfish, which was a great relief, for our mess had our

scanty provision of three days stolen from us two nights before, which was truly a misfortune, as the whole army had been on less than half allowance long before we came to Tioga. Here the General sent Lieutenant Boyd to make discovery and take Nanyous, my favorite Indian, as his guide and a few men, but Boyd took also a sergeant, captain and sixteen men with him, and proceeded to a small town near the prairie flats, and the next morning sent two men back, but remained until the Indians began to appear, and Murphy, one of his men, killed and scalped one of them, and advised Boyd to return; but he remained too long, and at last was pursued until near our encampment. He met Butler with his party, who had been on the hill in our front expecting to ambuscade and fire on our advance after crossing the outlet. It was there I met Murphy, who had with him two scalps, which he had taken from two Indians he had killed that day—the first in the morning, the other, about five minutes before he met me, from the Indian who was pursuing him after we left Lieutenant Boyd, whose party Wendall killed and scalped on the hill, my friendly Indian being one of them, not a mile from where he met me; but Boyd and his sergeant they took prisoners, with the intent to sacrifice at night, which they did, and whom we found, killed, tomahawked, scalped and their heads cut off, lying on the ground where they had their dance. Here we found one hundred and twenty houses, all which we burnt, and destroyed; their canoes had been destroyed before we arrived there. The army then returned,

the enemy having fled to Niagara, where, we afterwards heard, they suffered greatly, many died. In short, our expedition was their complete overthrow. On our return I went to see the Cayuga Lake, and returned to Newtown, when the General sent me with a command up the Tioga River and passed the painted post, &c., and returned to Newtown; but the army had marched to a point where I came up with them, and we proceeded to Easton, when I was sent to Sussex and Warwick, then through Pompton to Morristown, where we halted. Colonel Gansevoort separated from the army near Geneva, and went to Albany. My regiment continued at Morristown all winter, first in tents, until the snow was deep, before we got into huts, which we made of logs.

General Arnold being under arrest for improper conduct in Philadelphia while he commanded there, I was one of the Court-martial, Major-General Howe, President. There were also on that court four officers who had been at Ticonderoga when Colonel Hasen was called on for trial, as before related, and we were for cashiering Arnold, but were overruled, and he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief. If all the court had known Arnold's conduct as well as myself, how he and his Brigade Major had robbed merchants in Montreal, he would have been dismissed from serving any longer in our army, for he would have been cashiered. If so, he would never have had the command at West Point, and Major Andre might have lived until this day.

The regiment remained at Morristown

until the spring of 1780, and then was marched towards the northern frontiers in the State of New York, and having passed through the Manor of Cortlandt, saw my friends at Peekskill, and then to Nine Partners, where my father and his family were obliged to remove from Rhinebeck, as Colonel Livingston would not suffer them to remain any longer. I then joined the regiment and went to Fort Edward, on the North River, and was in a few days relieved by Colonel Warner. I then proceeded to West Point, and encamped on the west part in June, 1780; and as there was some expectation of an attack from the enemy, I took post on the mountain west of Fort Putnam. This was in June and July, when I was selected as one of the Colonels to command in a selected regiment of infantry, under Major-General Lafayette, who was returned from France, and had two brigades—the first commanded by General Hand, with Colonel Stewart of Pennsylvania, Colonel Ogden of New Jersey, and myself of New York; the other brigade by General Poor, with Colonel Shepherd of Massachusetts, Colonel Swift of Connecticut, and Colonel Harry Gimat, a French officer, together with Colonel Lee and his troop of horse, and a Major's command of artillery. Major-General Lafayette, with his Division, was stationed in front of the main army at Tappan, on the west side of the Hudson, where the British Adjutant-General Andre was executed as a spy. Our Division made a movement to Bergen, near Powles Hook, but the enemy kept close in New York and their ships; so that we had no opportunity of engaging them. We also

approached them towards Staten Island, marching and returning without effecting anything of importance, and so ended the campaign.

In the month of November, 1780, the Major-General Lafayette's division being ordered to join their respective lines of the army, of course the division was separated, and the General sent to join the Southern Army in Virginia, I proceeded to Albany, where my regiment was ordered by General James Clinton to be cantoned in the town of Schenectady, and where I went with them, and placed my men in the barracks, myself at Mr. Daniel Campbell's, and the officers at private houses with some difficulty, as the First Regiment had been there the winter previous, and their billeting not yet paid for.

In December the New York line of the five regiments was to be incorporated into two, the first and third to be under the command of Colonel Van Schaack, and the Second, Fourth and Fifth, John Livingston's, and that part of Spencer's belonging to this State, was to be under my command, and I was ordered to incorporate them, they being then at different places on the frontiers on the Mohawk river, the old Fourth being stationed at Fort Schuyler. I was ordered to that place, and my then Lieutenant Colonel Cochran permitted on furlough. There I remained until his return, when I returned to Albany, and while absent the barracks took fire and burnt up the fort, when General Clinton ordered me back, and although severely afflicted with sore eyes, I went and destroyed all the fort and brought off the cannon, &c., to Fort Harkimer,

and was ordered to build a new fort, having Major Villefranche as engineer; after looking out the place, clearing off the timber and brush, and a few nine months' men under Captain Schwarth joined me, I was ordered to repair to Albany and call in all my officers and men from the different stations, viz.: Fort Plain, Stone Arabia, Johnstown, Schoharie, &c., &c., leaving Captains Elsworth and Moody at Harkimer; and before I arrived at Schenectady I was informed of the death of Captain Elsworth, who was killed by a scout of Indians while he was out on a fishing party.

All my regiment having joined at and near Schenectady, I marched and encamped on the Patroons Flats. I had then the largest and most healthy regiment in America, not excepting French, English or Germans, and a fine band of music. Here I had to remain for the completing of thirty-four boats, now building there for the purpose, as reported, of taking our army from Elizabethtown to Staten Island as soon as the French fleet would appear off Sandy Hook in order to take New York.

Count Rochambeau, having marched from Rhode Island with the French forces, had advanced to the lines in Westchester County near Kings Bridge; some part of our army already in the State of New Jersey, and all things ready, the French fleet daily expected, I received orders to take the boats, regiment and baggage, &c., and proceed down the Hudson to Stony Point. Landed and encamped; remained there while the French passed and some time

after, until information came that General Washington himself was at the ferry and wished to see me. Upon approaching him he took me by the arm and went some distance on the road, and gave me his orders both written and verbal, which was to march to Chatham in New Jersey, take all the boats, intrenching tools, &c., and proceed with deliberation, informing him daily of my progress, for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my command was of great importance, being the rear guard of the army. Upon my arrival at Pompton Plains he altered my route, but at my request permitted me to take a more circuitous one through Participany—the road being better passing Mr. Lott's and Beaverhout—but not to pass the junction of the Morristown road with the Chatham road until the next morning; then, instead of going to the latter, I must pass through Morris and make an expeditious march to Trenton; and enjoined secrecy for three days. I did as ordered, after dining with Mr. Lott and spending the afternoon with his family, my camp being near his house, and marched by day-break next morning twenty-four miles, instead of eight or nine as customary from Kings Ferry. Arriving about three miles from Trenton, I was ordered to encamp for all the army to pass me, and then took my boats to Trenton and embarked my regiment, and proceeded on the Delaware to Philadelphia, where I halted one day to accommodate my officers, who wanted some articles of clothing, &c., then proceeded to Markess Hook, where I remained a few days for the army to pass and my men to wash their

clothes; then proceeded on, passing Wilmington to the head of Elk, where I left the boats, and marched by land to Baltimore, where I encamped on the hill, being a part of Mr. Howard's farm, now a part of Baltimore City. After remaining a few days and moving to Fells Point on board of shallops, sailed to James River in the State of Virginia, and landed at College landing; then marched to Williamsburgh, where I was made exceeding happy by meeting my General Lafayette, who had a command of light infantry, and Colonel Hamilton and my Major N. Fish was selected to join his command, who with Colonel Scammel, my old and particular friend in his advance, proceeded to invest Yorktown, where the renowned and haughty commander of the British army had entrenched himself.

Colonel Scammel advanced in sight of their advance redoubts, which they abandoned in the course of the night; I being ordered out the next morning with a strong picket guard to relieve Colonel Scammel, I found his men and relieved them; but the Colonel had, before my arrival, observed that they had retired from the poplar-tree redoubt to the road in front, and mistook a British patrol of horse for our men, was under the necessity of surrendering, when one of their dragoons coming up, fired, and wounded the Colonel after his surrender, but whether the dragoon knew of the surrender, being behind him, I cannot say, but from all the information I could obtain, it was after his surrender. The Colonel was first taken to the town, then paroled to Williamsburgh, where he died in our hospital, and was buried with the

honors of war. That morning the Commander-in-Chief, with almost all the general officers, came to my picket, and was in my front. While I was seated on the platform of the poplar redoubt viewing their battery, about one mile distant, the enemy fired over their heads and cut the branches of the tree, which fell about me; but as the Generals did not move, the second ball struck directly in my front, and went in the ground about three rods before the Generals (had it raised it must have passed through the cluster, and have killed several), when they all retreated except the Commander-in-Chief, who remained with his spying-glass observing their works; and although he remained some time alone, directly in their view, and in my front, they did not fire again. The General then came toward me, observing which, I arose and met him, when, after some remarks and inquiries, he directed me to keep my men as they were at present disposed of, out of sight of the battery, until evening; then to surround the town with my sentinels from the redoubt, which was to the right all the way to the York River, and that Baron Viomenil, with the French pickets, should do the same on the left; and the next morning they found themselves completely surrounded by a chain of active and vigilant sentinels. Preparations were now made, and the following night the army made, in the range of the sentinels, a complete intrenchment, which covered our men, and gave facility to our preparing our battery of cannon, which, when in order, the first gun which was fired, I could distinctly hear pass through the town,

being on the line directly in front, near the poplar redoubt, and our battery being on or near the river on our right. I could hear the ball strike from house to house, and I was afterwards informed that it went through the one where many of the officers were at dinner, and over the tables, discomposing the dishes, and either killed or wounded the one at the head of the table; and I also heard that the gun was fired by the Commander-in-Chief, who was designedly present in the battery for the express purpose of putting the first match.

The enemy having two redoubts about three hundred and fifty yards in advance of the line, and batteries which surrounded the town, and which was an annoyance to our progress, it was determined to take them by storming. The one was assigned for General Lafayette's light infantry, the other, for Baron Viomenil, with the French grenadiers. Colonel Hamilton, with Major Fish and other officers and men of the American light infantry, advanced against the right one near the river, and took it in a few minutes, when General Lafayette sent to the French Baron for information, who returned answer, he had not, but would in five minutes, which I believe he did. Both the above were brilliant exploits, and crowned the assailants with everlasting honor, particularly as they extended mercy to every one who solicited it after entering the works, which was not the case when Bayler's horse were surprised. After the two redoubts were taken we advanced our lines in their range, and the next morning I advanced the York brigade, which I then commanded, with drums

and colors flying and carried arms up to the redoubt which Baron Viomenil had taken, which insulting movement drew on the resentment of our enemies, who fired an incessant shower of bombshells without doing any injury to us, only killing a French grenadier in my front and a Virginian retiring on my left. One of the shot, as I entered the entrenchment, cut its upper part and almost covered me and the Marquis Steuben, who was meeting me, when he directed me to stop my music, which I did, and the firing ceased. When I came to the redoubt, it was necessary to cut away a part to get a mortar to play on the enemy, when one of Captain Vandenburg's fatigued party was killed the first stroke, struck by a nine pound ball, which carried off his thigh close to his body. On seeing this, a volunteer was called for, as the case was desperate, when a soldier who had been disgraced, as he told me, without cause, took the place and performed the work, although, during its execution, three balls were fired at him, all of which came within six inches, one almost covered his head with sand. His name was Peter Christian Vouch, and his brother is my neighbor at Peekskill. Another remarkable occurrence: Sergeant Brown was leaning over the embankment looking at the enemy's battery, when Captain Vandeburgh ordered him down; and as he slid down, the ball that was intended to kill him, and which would have passed through his body if he had remained, passed over his head; and either the wind or the sand, as it passed without breaking his skull or skin, produced his death in an instant, as he fell dead in

the trench—no mark but blood-shot head and face. Here one of my small drummers asked me if he might remove a vest from a dead British soldier, whom I had ordered to be buried, in which he found eleven guineas, so he was well paid for his attention to the dead soldier. The siege was now continued with cannon and mortars on both sides. I have counted thirteen shells flying in the air at night at the same time, going to and from the enemy.

One night the enemy (I suppose to save appearances as a point of honor) made a sortie on a French battery by surprise, killed some and spiked the guns, but was soon obliged to retire with some loss. They also attempted to cross the river at Gloucester with all the army and force their way by land, but a storm arising, they were obliged to return; but had they succeeded in crossing, they never would have been able to reach New York, so desperate was their situation; and at length the haughty Cornwallis sent out a flag, and asked a suspension to give him time for negotiations of surrender, which was agreed to by General Washington, on the like terms which General Lincoln had obtained at the surrender of Charleston from this same Lord Cornwallis; and the day when they gave up their arms, colors, &c., General Lincoln had the pleasure of conducting them to the field of deposit, much to their mortification. However, they performed it with more order than I expected. The prisoners were soon sent into the interior, and it fell to my lot (as General Clinton, who commanded the Division, and General Dayton, of the New Jersey Brigade, were

somewhat indisposed, and permitted to return by water) to command the Division, composed of the New York and New Jersey Brigades, to march them by land, and had the charge of 1,700 of the British and Hessian prisoners as far as the town of Fredericksburg, where I delivered them to an officer of the Virginia militia. I was asked at Hanover Court House \$500 for a bowl of apple-toddy, but was satisfied on payment of one silver dollar, and then continued my march through Alexandria, Georgetown, Bladenburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Trenton in New Jersey, where the troops of that State left me, and I continued my march with the New York Brigade to Pompton, where I commenced to make huts for our winter accommodations.

The troops being almost destitute of clothing, no money to purchase any, and often scantied for provisions, and obliged to labor hard to make the huts warm, and the weather extremely cold, so that it was attended with difficulty and almost cruelty to keep them exposed in the open air to hear preaching from our worthy Chaplain, Dr. John Gano. I therefore permitted him to return to his family until called for, which I found was not necessary until the breaking up of winter, when he returned of his own pleasure, and informed me that he had received a lecture from one of the soldiers whom he overtook as he came near the encampment. It appeared that the Doctor made inquiry of the soldier how the commandant (meaning me), the officers and men had enjoyed health during the winter while he was absent, &c. The soldier answered: Dear Doctor, we

have had tolerable health, but hard times otherwise; we have wanted almost everything, scantied in clothing, provisions and money, and, hardest of all, we have not had even the word of God to comfort us. The Doctor then gave as a reason why he was absent, it being hard to oblige the men, badly clad, to attend worship. True, said the soldier, but it would have been consoling to have had such a good man near us. That remark, said the Doctor, was unanswerable. Shortly after he pointed out the soldier, who was a reprobate fellow, and had diverted himself with quizzing the Doctor.

The church on the low ground being obtained for Doctor Gano to preach in on the following Sabbath, on the Saturday evening previous I let him see the Brigade return, and observed it would be more pleasing if all the men were for the war, but there were several six months and nine months men which I wished to re-enlist. On Sunday, in his introduction to the sermon, he observed that it always gave him pleasure to preach to soldiers, especially when he had good tidings to communicate, and he could aver of the truth that our Lord and Saviour approved of all those who had engaged in his service for the whole warfare. No nine or six months men in his service. This had a fine effect, for many re-enlisted shortly after to silence the pleasantry of their companions. This was in the spring of 1782, when thinking it more expedient to encamp the men, we moved to the flat fields, and there exercised and manœuvred to great advantage in the presence of Baron Steuben, who was delighted

with our performances during his visit of a few days.

I omitted to mention in the above that while we continued in the huts His Excellency General Washington came with his lady on a visit, and remained in my humble station from Saturday evening until Monday morning, when I sent an escort with him as a guard on his way to Newburg.

In the summer of 1782, after General Washington and his lady had left me for Newburg, and the French army under General Rochambeau was returning, my command was ordered to Verplanck's Point, where the army encamped, composed of the New England, New York and New Jersey troops, the latter on the right, when the French passed on to the Peekskill, and remained a few days encamped. The army at Verplanck's was reviewed by the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by his French Generals. We were assembled in close column, under the command of Major-General Baron Steuben, and marched as if approaching an enemy, and under a supposed engagement. Had to display, when I discovered a mistake, and rectified it instantly in such a manner as to attract the notice of all the General officers attending, and gained more honor than any regiment engaged by my activity in rectifying the mistakes without causing a disorder under a presumed heavy fire.

This being the first and only period of the war that I was encamped and stationed near my own habitation,¹ I had the pleasure of receiving the visits of my friends, which in some measure made amends for the inactivity of the cam-

paign, which terminated by marching to the vicinity of New Windsor, and commenced the making of huts for our accommodation for the winter near the road leading to Little Britain, the residence of General James Clinton. The month of January, 1783, found us in huts, of our own making, as comfortable as troops could expect without pay, scant of provisions at times, and also in want of sufficient clothing; however, better than we had formerly experienced, and as the accounts of the termination of the war were gaining a belief, we were induced by the promises of Congress of future reward to preserve an orderly discipline to the end.

As the spring of the year came on, an anonymous letter made its appearance which caused much uneasiness, especially at headquarters, and the General came to camp and sent for the officers commanding brigades, and as I had command of the New York Line I attended with others, and was happy to find a unanimous determination to support order, and agreed with General Washington to suppress every attempt at disorderly conduct, which was subsequently confirmed in a full meeting of all the officers assembled together in a large hall, which had been erected near the Massachusetts line, with the full belief that Congress would ultimately compensate the army for their services and sufferings.

In the month of May the Society of the Cincinnati was organized; and in June it was resolved by the officers of the New York Brigade to present Governor George Clinton with the stand of colors and instruments of music belong-

ing to the Brigade, and I was requested to present them to the Governor at his residence in the town of Poughkeepsie, which request was attended to; and as I remained a few days in Poughkeepsie with the Governor, I found on my return to cantonment that almost all were gone, as only a few were left, and they wanted assistance—some unwell and others without the means of removal. I myself determined to go to Croton. In the first place purchased the barge or rowboat from the Quartermaster and some extra provisions, and hired a few soldiers, one of which, a mulatto with his wife and child, to act as cook. I set off, and arrived at the farm, at the mouth of Croton River, where I was joined in a short time by Captains Hamtramck and Vanderburgh, and also by Daniel Pryer, whom I had invited to stay with me until we could go into New York, and they were happily employed, sometimes gunning and fishing, &c., &c.

¹ A view of this house, from an original drawing, made for this Magazine by Mr. Hosier, prefaces this document.

IRVING'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK

A LETTER FROM DIEDRICK KNICKERBOCKER

(From the *American Citizen*, New York, January 23d, 1810.)

Mr. Editor :

As you seem to take very kind interest in the affairs of Mr. Diedrick Knickerbocker, I am happy to inform you that we have just received news of the poor old gentleman. The following letter from him was handed to my wife the

day before yesterday by a tall countryman, who had chalked the number of my house on his hat crown :

To Mr. Seth Handaside.

Worthy Sir—It is a matter of exceeding great surprise to me when by accident I learned this morning that after I had been for some time advertised in the newspapers as missing, my history was published, without receiving my last corrections, as also without my consent or approbation. I do not so much blame as lament this hasty measure, as the object of my mysterious absence was to collect some information of great importance to my work.

Not thinking to be absent long, I departed from your house without mentioning my intention, lest it should awaken the curiosity of your worthy spouse, who, between ourselves, my honest Seth, gives herself too much trouble about the affairs of those around her—poor woman—may heaven reward her for the same ! As the weather was fine I travelled a foot by easy stages through Manhattanville, by Spiking devil, Kingsbridge, Phillipsburgh, and so on, until I arrived at Dobb's Ferry, where I crossed over to the Slote, and thence proceeded to Coeyman's Patent, to the house of my esteemed friend, Judge Lott, where I have been ever since entertained with true patriarchal hospitality. This worthy gentleman is come of one of the most ancient Dutch families in this country, and has in his possession the papers of his late excellent kinsman, Mr. Abraham Lott, formerly Treasurer of this Colony. From this valuable collection I have selected much interesting matter, as well

as from frequent conversations with the valuable Burgers of Tappan, who have given me divers wonderful particulars about the great factions of the *Blue skins* and the *Copper heads*, which anciently raged with great violence among the Flodders, and the Van Schaiks, and other potent families on the banks of the Hudson, and even occasioned not a little bitterness among the Patricians of Albany. But all these curious and unheard of matters, which would have rounded so highly to the embellishment of my history, and the instruction of the world, with many others which it is useless to mention, your unfortunate precipitancy has buried I fear in eternal oblivion.

To account for my very long absence and apparent disregard of your advertisements, I must inform you; as to the first, that I have been confined by a tedious and lingering sickness, the consequence no doubt of my intense studies and incessant ponderings; and as to the second, none of your advertisements ever reached my retreat. Among the many laudable regulations instituted by the Sage Burgers of this very ancient and small town, they have banished all newspapers whatsoever, conceiving them to be mere vehicles of false politics, false morality, and false information, and, moreover, common disturbers of the peace of the community. Hence it is as rare a thing to see a newspaper here as a Yankee, and a politician is as uncommon a monster as a chattering whale or a dumb woman. This being the case, I should doubtless have still remained ignorant of the publication of my history but for the singular accident of a newspaper being smuggled into the town under the specious

pretext of serving as a wrapper to half a dozen pounds of sugar, which my friend Squire Van Loon had sent for to Albany. The appearance of this pestilent scroll occasioned much the same sensation as would the introduction of a bale of cotton, or a bag of coffee among our old women and medical editors, during the yellow fever. With much difficulty I obtained permission to read it, under a solemn promise to burn it and scatter the ashes to the four winds of heaven the next moment. From this paper did I first learn the advertisement of my disappearance, and the subsequent publication of my history.

I regret exceedingly this last premature step, and particularly its having been published by Messrs. Inskeep and Bradford instead of my much esteemed friend, Mr. Evert Duyckinck, who is a lineal descendant from one of the ancient heroes of the Manhattoes, and whose grandfather and my grandfather were just like brothers. As, however, I trust that Messrs. Inskeep and Bradford, though not Dutchmen, are still very honest, good sort of men, I expect they will account with me for my lawful share of the profits. In the mean time, as I am going to pass some time with my relations at Scaghikoke, who are amazingly anxious to see me, I request that you will direct the bookseller to transmit a copy of my book in my name to my worthy cozen, the Congressman, who is now at Washington, where I have little doubt but it will be of a marvellous edification to him in the discharge of his high duties. You will likewise present a copy to the City Librarian, to

whose friendly attentions I was much obliged in the course of my labours, and to whom I beg you will remember me in the most cordial manner.

The book, bound in vellum, with brass clasps, containing the correct records of the city, which you will find in my room, you will be good enough to return, with my hearty thanks, to Mr. Peter P. Goelet and his brother Ratsey, who were so kind as to allow me the use of it. You will likewise please to call on Col. Henry Rutgers, and return him a large roll of papers, written in Dutch, which lie on the desk in my room, giving at the same time my best acknowledgments for his kindness, and a copy of my work, neatly bound.

As to my saddle bags, you may keep them with you until my cozen, the Congressman, returns, who will call for them and bring them up to Scaghikoke. Do not fail to send several copies up to my relations, and one to myself, for I long most vehemently to pore over my excellent little history, which I make no doubt will furnish me with abundant reading for the rest of my life.

With kind remembrances
to your worthy help mate,

I am, my honest Seth,
truly yours,

DIEDRICK KNICKERBOCKER.

Such, Mr. Editor, is the letter I received, and I posted immediately with it to the Stuyvesant family, who have been very anxious about the old gentleman, and have made repeated enquiries after him. They were quite overjoyed to hear of his safety, and in the fullness of their hearts declared that the histo-

rian of their illustrious ancestor should never want. To make good their words, they have provided a snug little rural retreat on their estate for him, where poor old Diederick may end his days comfortably in the neighbourhood of his favourite city, and lay his bones in peace in his beloved island of Mannahata. I have written him word of this munificent gift; in the mean while I could not refrain from making known to the public a circumstance which reflects such great credit on this truly worthy and respectable family.

I am, sir, with great respect,
your humble servant,
SETH HANDASIDE.

The preceding amusing letter by Washington Irving has not been printed in any collection of his works that has come under our observation.—
EDITOR.

NOTES

NOTES FROM MAJOR CRAIG'S LETTER-BOOKS.—*Wheeling, West Virginia.* The following notes relating to this place are taken from the letter-books of Major Isaac Craig at the time acting as Deputy Quartermaster-General at Pittsburgh.

June 15, 1793.—“Wheeling was laid out in the Summer of 1792, and now has eight log houses with two small stores near the landing. The stockade Fort, built in 1774, is entirely demolished. The inhabitants are at present without any place of defence.”

August 2, 1793.—“I am just returned from laying out a store house, block-house and small stockade at Wheeling. I contracted for the materials and employed workmen who I expect will have

the store house completed by the 15th instant; but I am apprehensive the situation will not answer the purpose intended, as an Island opposite Wheeling, that is nearly two miles long, will prevent the Block-house guns from commanding the whole of the river. The principal channel however, is on the east side of the Island and the mouth of Wheeling Creek (immediately under the Block-house) forms an excellent harbour for boats."

December 26, 1793.—"The buildings at Wheeling consists of a Block-house, Store house and Barracks; the Block-house twenty-two feet by twenty-two feet, two stories high, in the upper story a six pounder is mounted; the lower story may be used as a store-house. The Barracks one story high, consists of five rooms, four rooms fifteen feet square, and one room fifteen feet by twelve; the whole is enclosed with a stockade."

The above extracts are from letters addressed to General Knox, Secretary of War.

Fort Randolph was the name of the works described; it was evacuated in May, 1797, by order of General Wilkinson as a useless Post, and the material sold, in November of that year, to Colonel George Striker. May 23, 1794, by a letter of this date to Timothy Pickering, P. M. General, I find Major Craig had just made arrangements by which "the mail will reach Philadelphia in seven days from Wheeling."

Fort Franklin, Pa.—Extract from a letter from Major Craig to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of War, dated August 14, 1795. "At Fort Franklin I found no safe place of deposit for stores

of any kind. Indeed the Fort, if it may be so called, is almost in ruins, the Block-house I am of opinion cannot stand another year. In this state of things it is Colonel Butler's opinion as well as mine, that a store-house should be immediately built at the mouth of French Creek where the old Fort stood. I presume Colonel Butler has written to you on the subject."

First Mail to Erie, Pa.—Extract from a letter from Major Craig to Colonel Rochefontaine, Commanding at Presqu' Isle, dated August 15, 1795: "It is found necessary to establish a regular communication between this Post and Presqu' Isle, and I am now making arrangements for a weekly mail to arrive at Presqu' Isle on Thursday the 27th instant, and on the same day every week afterward, unless it should be found from experience necessary to make alterations in this business." I. C.

Alleghany City, Pa.

FIRST MANUFACTURE OF VERMICELLI AND MACARONI IN THE UNITED STATES.—

"Augustino-Maury Bruino, from Genoa, in Italy; having obtained liberty from that Government, to export to America the machinery for manufacturing vermicelli and macaroni, (the first ever brought in this country) informs the citizens of New-York and the United States in general, that he has established his works at 371, Pearl-street, where these desirable articles will be sold wholesale and retail in their pristine state, it being fresh and free from must, and every disagreeable smell that it usually imbibes in coming over sea.—It makes of itself excellent soup, and is a preventive in

all warm countries from every kind of fevers; and is generally used in the South of Europe with the first class of people, as the first dish on the table; its principal ingredient being the first quality of wheat, which is wholesome and easy of digestion. Nothing can be better for lying-in ladies and sick people in general, and equally as good for those in health. No master of a vessel, supercargo or seaman should go to sea without it. Warranted equal to any made in Europe. It will be delivered in boxes to suit purchasers, or by the single pound, with directions how to use it. —*Mercantile Advertiser*, Dec. 14, 1802."

W. K.

WASHINGTON'S LONG ISLAND "TOUR" IN THE SPRING OF 1790.—There is an aged lady still living in this city, who has a distinct remembrance of seeing General Washington as he passed her father's door in Cold Spring, L. I., on that "tour," as he calls it in his "Diary." Mrs Sarah Mead, this venerable living link between that pleasant episode in the life of the first President of the United States in this city and the present time, is now in her 96th year, and although much enfeebled by age, retains in her mind a vivid impression of that interesting incident of her childhood. Her account tallies precisely with several particulars given by Washington himself respecting that journey from Brooklyn to Brookhaven, which was in his private carriage, and with but few attendants. It was on his return route, and on his way from Huntington to Oyster Bay, that she saw him, which, as we learn from the "Diary," was on Friday, April 23, 1790. The name of the

General's stopping-place at the latter place she recalled on a recent interview without difficulty, which we subsequently verified on turning to the "Diary," that records it as "the house of a Mr. Young (private and very neat and decent), where we lodged."

But another equally well authenticated fact, frequently rehearsed to Mrs. Mead by her friend, a much older person, not now living, Mrs. Temperance Jackson, present that evening at "Young's," to "help" in getting up a grand supper for Washington, was that when the great man, for whom nothing was justly deemed too good, arrived, he stepped into the sitting-room and simply asked his hostess if she could furnish him and his company with a dish of "*mush and milk!*" When this order was announced in the kitchen, "you should have seen those niggers!" as the old lady used to say. "They were struck dumb" with astonishment—a silence probably soon relieved by the noisy merriment common to the race.

WILLIAM HALL.

THE TOUCH TEST OF MURDER.—The following extraordinary Attestation of the Coroner of Bergen County was communicated by a gentleman of such credit as leaves not the least doubt of its being genuine:

"On the Twenty-second Day of September, in the year of our Lord 1767, I, Johannes Demarest, Coroner of the County of Bergen and Province of New Jersey, was present at a View of the Body of one Nicholas Teurs, then lying dead, together with the jury, which I summoned to inquire of the Death of Nicholas Teurs. At that Time a Negro

named Harry, belonging to Hendrick Christians Zabriskie, was suspected of having murdered the said Teurs, but there was no Proof of it, and the Negro denied it. I asked him if he was not afraid to touch Teurs? He said No; he had not hurt him, and immediately came up to the Corpse, then lying in the Coffin, and then Staats Storm, one of the Jurors, said: "I am not afraid of him, and stroked the dead Man's Face with his Hand," which made no Alteration in the dead Person, and (as I did not put any Faith in any of those Trials) my Back was turned towards the dead Body, when the Jury ordered the Negro to touch the dead Man's Face with his Hand, and then I heard a Cry in the Room of the People, saying, "He is the Man;" and I was desired to come to the dead Body, and was told that the said Negro Harry had put his hand on Tuers' Face, and that the Blood immediately ran out at the Nose of the dead man Teurs. I saw the Blood on his Face, and ordered the Negro to rub his Hand again on Teurs' Face; he did so, and immediately the Blood again ran out of said Teurs' Nose at both Nostrils, near a common Table Spoonful at each Nostril, as well as I could judge.

Whereupon the People all charged him with being the Murderer, but he denied it for a few minutes, and then confessed that he had murdered the said Nicholas Teurs, by first striking him on the Head with an Ax, and then driving a Wooden Pin in his Ear; tho' afterwards he said he struck a second Time with his Ax, and then held him fast till he had done struggling. When that was done, he awaked some of the Family, and said

Teurs was dying (he believed)."—*N. Y. Journal, October 1st, 1767.* W. K.

AMERICAN SURNAMES.—I send some American surnames not found in any work on the subject that I am acquainted with: Africa, Allaback, Bearsticker, Brearypole, Carbon, Cry, Clownish, Crazey, Click, Cumberlock, Dangwell, Devorce, Dielt, Dross, Earlick, Feed, Fid, Foulfoot, Glue, Goodbread, Goodnight (probably a corruption of Good Knight), Grasshopper, Heelfish, Hoof, Hornfoot, Hogancamp, Hunkey, Handcleare, Hollyland, Hawser, Hogbeans, Ice, Ironcutter, Jerk, Livelong, Limeburner, Masthead, Offword, Overwinter, Pancake, Porcupine, Richland, Ravish, Redheffer, Redlion, Redhair, Savewell, Sommerkamp, Snail, Sledd, Skrimp, Talk, Tape, Terrapin, Vermillion, Wideback.

Most of the above are from Revolutionary muster-rolls and pension lists. Africa and Grasshopper are from Harrisburg; Masthead, is from Pittsburg, and Redheffer is from Philadelphia, and also from Kansas City. ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany City, Pa.

DUTCH SYMPATHY FOR AMERICA.—"In such high reputation is the American cause at Amsterdam, and so great is the avidity of the people to show their good will to it, that a ballad singer sold six hundred ballads in the streets in the course of one hour, because it contained some reflections favorable to the American revolution."—*Connecticut Gazette, Dec. 21, 1781.* A. T. S.

TRIAL TRIP OF FULTON'S STEAM BATTERY.—The N. Y. National Advocate of

June 2, 1815, gives the following account of the trial trip of the first U. S. Steam vessel of war called "Fulton the First:" "Yesterday was a very auspicious day for the U. S. The experiment of moving the new vessel of war by means of steam, has been made in a successful and highly satisfactory manner. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Fulton was propelled, by her own steam and machinery, from her moorings, near the Brooklyn Ferry on the east side of the City. Henry Rutgers, Samuel L. Mitchell, Thomas Morris, and Oliver Wolcott Esqs., the Commissioners of the Navy Dept. to superintend her construction, were on board. Mr. Brown, the Naval constructor, Mr. Stondinger, the engineer (the successor to Mr. Fulton) and Capt. Smith the inspector, were also in the vessel. A number of Scientific and distinguished gentlemen gave their attendance. The wharves were crowded with citizens, anxious to know the result. She proceeded majestically into the river, though a stiff breeze from the south blew directly ahead. She stemmed the current with perfect ease, the tide a strong ebb. She sailed by the forts and saluted them with her 32 pound guns. Her speed was equal to the most sanguine expectation. She exhibited a novel and sublime spectacle to an admiring people. The intention of the Commissioners being solely to try her engines, no use was made of her sails. After navigating the Bay, and receiving a visit from the officers of the French ship of war, lying at her anchors, the steam frigate came to near the Powleshook ferry, about two o'clock, without

having experienced a single unpleasant occurrence." W. H. NEWTON.

St. Georges, Del.

ONE OF THE OLDEST INHABITANTS.—
Boston, July 13th. From Somerset county Maryland we learn that one Francis Ange died there about three months ago, in a very advanced age. A Gentleman of that province, some years ago, having occasion to ride in the neighborhood where this man lived, and hearing of his great age, had the curiosity to go and see him. In a letter to his friend and correspondent in this Town August 9th, 1764 he gives the following account of him, as he had from the man himself: That he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire England; that his father's name was John, a cutler by trade and his mother's name Eleanor; that he could remember King Charles I being beheaded, as he was then a pretty big boy; that he came to this country in a ship from Parkgate called the Great Bengal, and served his time with one Nicholas Demar on Rappahannock. The Gentleman says that at that time he was not less than 130 years of age, had scarce a wrinkle in his face, had thick black hair, with a few grey hairs interspersed, and that his wife, who was then about 80, had a son by him not above 27 years of age.—*N. Y. Journal, July 30th 1767.* W. K.

THE HERO OF BENNINGTON.—*Detroit, May 26th, 1811.* Venerable General: On examining the fort in this place a few days past I perceived, in one of the embrasures, a handsome brass cannon with this inscription on it: "John Stark

taken at Bennington 16th of August 1777." This, together with the situation in which I found it, forcibly drew my mind not only to a retrospect of the revolutionary war, but still further back to the records of transactions too remote for my observation, and I could not but view the fortuitous circumstance of its being placed on these walls, as a sort of pledge for the future safety of this place, as well against those from whose martial hands you wrested it on the embattled plains of Walloomsack, as the descendants of those savages who felt the chastisement of your arms, near this fort, on the memorable ambuscade of the 31st July, 1768.

I have often contemplated the spot with horror, where fell by your side the brave Capts. Dalvell and Campbell, where the bridge, from the blood of 280 out of 300 British and 110 out of 200 provincials, is to this day emphatically called "Bloody Bridge." I was much gratified with the feeling relation of this transaction by a man of the name of Maxwell, who served under you in that campaign; who, while he reiterated the events, frequently attempted to wipe away the incrustated tears from his furrowed cheek, often exclaiming: "Ah! is my old Captain Stark still living?" But though death is a severe master, you have parried his stroke, till he has arrived at the very Z of the revolutionary alphabet, by which you have been enabled to view and contemplate vast portions of your native country freed from the savage knife and from civil tyranny, in effecting which, your having borne so conspicuous a part, must remain a fruitful source of consolation, even to the

very fragment of your furlough; at the end of which, when summoned to headquarters to join the main body of patriots and heroes who have long since marched for that station, that you may pass a good muster, and finally receive a pension which will support you through the war of elements, is the sincere wish of,

Dear General,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

J. Witherell.

The venerable John Stark, Esq.

—*The American Patriot*, August 21st.

PETERSFIELD.

QUERIES

HOUDON'S BUST OF LAFAYETTE.—In the third volume of St. John de Crève Coeur's *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain*, all of which have not as yet been translated into English, may be found an account of an interesting historical event. The whole is here given—

Extract of a letter addressed to *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Échevins de la ville de Paris*, by his Excellency M. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, Paris, the 27 September, 1786. "The Legislature of Virginia in recognition of the services of Major General the Marquis de La Fayette have resolved to place his bust in their Capitol. Their desire to erect a monument to his virtues and of the sentiments entertained towards him in the country to which they owe his birth, leads them to hope that the City of Paris will consent to become the depository of the second testimony of their gratitude. Charged by the Legislature with the execution of their resolution, I have the honor to

pray of *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Échevins* to accept the Bust of that brave officer, and to set it up in a place where it may forever attest this respectful homage and bear witness to the attachment of the allies of France."

Monsieur le Baron de Breteuil, Minister and Secretary of State of the Department of Paris, wrote to *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Echevins* that the King, who had been consulted, approved of the acceptance of this Bust by the city. In consequence whereof the City being assembled the 28 September, M. Short, former member of the Council of the Legislature of Virginia (Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary, being detained at home by an indisposition), appeared at the Hotel de Ville to present the bust, which had been executed by le Sieur Houdon, and to place in the hands of *MM. les Prévôts des Marchands et Echevins* a letter of Mr. Jefferson, together with the resolution of the Legislature of Virginia. M. le Pelletier de More-Fontaine, Councillor of State, Prévôt des Marchands opened the session by announcing its motive and object, and delivered to M. Veytard, Chief Register, all the documents to make reading thereof. After which M. Ethis de Corny, Advocate and Attorney of the King and Chevalier of the order of Cincinnatus, delivered a discourse, in which he recalled in an extremely interesting manner the services of M. de La Fayette in North America, the confidence of the army, and attachment of the people, for the General. As King's Attorney for the City of Paris, he made the requisitions and dispositions necessary for the reception

of the bust in conformity with the King's desire, in consequence whereof the bust was set up in one of the rooms of the Hotel de Ville to the sound of military music. This ceremony, the object of which was as novel as it was interesting, aroused a lively impression of pleasure and sympathy among the spectators. A literary gentleman, who was witness of the scene, happily applied to M. de La Fayette what Tacitus says of Germanicus: "*Fruitur famâ sui.*"

A note to the text states that the original of the bust was destined for Virginia, to be placed in the Capitol at Richmond, by the side of the statue of Washington, which Houdon was also commissioned to make. There is a marble bust of Lafayette in the Capitol at Richmond, no doubt the original of that presented to Paris. Appleton's and Johnson's Cyclopædias both record the fact, but strange to say neither of these nor yet Drake's Dictionary of American biography, under the caption of Houdon, mention the bust as from his hand.

Can any of our readers give information as to the fate of the Paris bust? Did it survive the revolution, the restoration and the Empire? or was its fate to perish by the flames of 1871, in the ruins of the Commune? EDITOR.

ANCIENT MANUSCRIPT.—Can any of your readers inform me of the whereabouts of the ancient manuscript described in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of June, 1823, as follows?

"A manuscript volume of three hundred and fifty pages has lately been discovered at Detroit, in the United States,

under the building of Col. Edwards. The book is in a good state of preservation, and the penmanship is beautiful. The characters in which it is written are unknown, being neither Hebrew, Greek, nor Saxon; the only parts intelligible are a few Latin quotations."

ANTIQUARIAN.

DANKER'S JOURNAL.—In his preface to Danker's journal of a voyage to New York and a tour in the American Colonies in 1679-80, published by the Long Island Historical Society in 1867, Mr. Henry C. Murphy states that the manuscript from which the translation was made came into his hands a few years previously in Holland. In a note to the edition of Knickerbockers' History of New York, published by Inskip & Bradford, in 1809, Mr. Irving says the sketch prepared to his history was taken from Danker's View of New Amsterdam. Was Irving acquainted with the text of the journal as well as the View?

KNICKERBOCKER.

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND BOUCHER.—"3443. Washington. Letter of Washington addressed to Rev. Doctor Boucher, dated Mount Airy, Aug. 2, 1773, with portraits. This interesting letter occupies two 4to pages."

The above is from the catalogue of books, &c., belonging to the late John Allen, of New York city, and was sold in May, 1864. Who is the present owner of the letter? Would he gratify a large number of your readers by furnishing a copy of it for publication at the present time?

In London "Notes and Queries" sev-

eral articles have appeared from a descendant of the Rev. Dr. in relation to General Washington, which have been replied to by Col. J. L. Chester.

Boston.

J. C.

NEWTOWN PIPPINS.—More than a century ago this delicious fruit was exported to Europe. In 1767 Mr. William Livingston sent two barrels to a friend in England. Early in this century the Golden pippin was the choicest apple of this variety. Are there any of these trees now to be found on Long Island?

DOBES FERRY.

AMERICAN MODESTY OR ENGLISH VERACITY.—In "A Summary View of America, etc. By an Englishman," printed at London, 1825, occurs the following passage: "The Americans have a current saying, 'that they are the most enlightened people on earth,' and Congress actually passed a resolution to that effect many years ago."

What is the authority for the above statement?

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BORN IN NEW AMSTERDAM.—I found the following cutting from a newspaper in an old scrap-book; it is without date. Can any of your readers give particulars of this interesting memento? "The silver tankard presented to the first born white child of the colony at New Amsterdam—Sarah (afterwards the widow Foley), daughter of Jan Joris Rapelje, on her marriage, is in the possession of Barnet Johnson. It is silver, and massive, and bears an inscription in Dutch. She was born June 9th, 1625."

A. H.

MISSING DOCUMENTS.—For the purpose of comparison application has been made by several persons to the Mercantile Library Association of New York, for a view of the original papers printed in a volume entitled "New York City in the Revolution." These papers, forming part of the Tomlinson Collection, purchased by subscription, are no longer to be found among its archives.

It is important that such documents be preserved, and restored to the institution to which they belong. EDITOR.

REPLIES

DE CÉLORON'S PLATE. — (II. 129.) There seems to be a discrepancy between Mr. Marshall's interesting narrative of De Céloron's expedition and the accompanying chart, which the writer would like to have explained.

On page 146 he says, "The sixth and last of the leaden plates was buried at this place" — the intersection of the Great Miami with the Ohio.

On referring to the chart the Fort des Miamis (Fort Wayne) is marked as one of the places where a plate was buried, as well as where latitude and longitude were observed.

The writer is inclined to believe that this great gateway to the west—the portage place from the Maumee to the Wabash—would have been considered an important point for such a ceremony, and that one of De Céloron's plates must still rest in its grave at Fort Wayne.

If Mr. Marshall, or some one who has access to the records of the expedition, will kindly examine them upon

this point, and give the location, if recorded, the writer will institute a search for the plate.

R. S. ROBERTSON.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.—(II. 83, 188). In the autumn of 1872 the Maine Historical Society visited Monhegan Island for the purpose, among other things, of making examination of the so-called runic inscription alleged to be seen there. I was present on that occasion by invitation of that society.

This runic inscription is not on Monhegan proper, but on a little isle close by, called Mouanis by the famous Captain John Smith. The characters forming it were on the vertical surface of a dark-colored rock—perhaps trap dike—(I am not a geologist) fitted closely into a hard granite rock. At the bottom of all, or nearly all of these so-called runic characters, there was plainly to be seen a crack in the rock. This circumstance and some others forced me to the belief that these characters were made by operations of nature and not by any human agency. Mr. Worsac's judgment (Note, p. 84) regarding the Runamo Rock, *mutatis mutandis*, applies to the Mouanis Rock.

C. W. T.

Boston.

THE LONG, LOW, BLACK SCHOONER.—(II. 251.) Capt. Henry Barnes, of the Snow Eagle, belonging to Whitehaven, in a letter dated Rhode Island, August 14, 1776, announces the capture of his vessel off Barbadoes by an American privateer, which he describes as "a small affair, black, with ten guns, fifty

men. She is called the Montgomery, Capt. Buckling, commander. We are the seventh West-Indian taken by this privateer."—*Edinburgh Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1776.

PETERSFIELD.

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PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—(II. 188.) References about the portrait of Columbus will be found in the "Note on Columbus," prepared for the Catalogue of the Ticknor Library, in press by the Boston public Library; and (the note) printed separately, 30 copies; copies of which are in the Lenox and Astor Libraries, New York. J. W.

—
In Rivington's Gazette of August 30th, 1783, is the following advertisement:

"To be sold:—An original picture of Christopher Columbus—the discoverer of America; also a parcel of very ancient Gold and Silver medals, well worth the attention of the curious. Enquire of Mrs. Maria Farmer in Hanover Square."

Mrs. Farmer was a descendant of Liesler, a daughter of the Abraham Gouverneur who allowed du Simitière to make the copies of the Liesler documents used in England to obtain the reversal of her attainder, now in the Philadelphia Library Company, and published in the New York Historical Society Collections for 1868.

Y. E. L.

—
A copy of an original painting of Columbus was presented, in the year 1818, to the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts by R. W. Meade. During Mr. Meade's residence in Madrid in 1815,

he ascertained that the Duke of Veraguas, a descendant of Columbus, and the possessor of his estate and titles, had an original portrait of his illustrious ancestor. Mr. M. obtained permission to have it copied. And it was this copy that was presented as above stated.

WM. H. NEWTON.

St. Georges, Del.

—
FALL OF THE ALAMO.—(II. 1, 189, 251.) The survivors of the Alamo were: Mrs. Dickinson, her infant daughter, a negro servant of Colonel Travis, and two Mexican women. This is the account furnished by Mrs. Dickinson to the *Telegraph* of March 24th, 1836. This child, afterwards known as the "Daughter of the Alamo," became, when she grew up, the victim of seduction, and for years led a life of shame in Houston, Galveston and elsewhere. She died some three or four years since.

Francisco Antonio Ruiz, Alcalde of Bexar, in his account of the affair, which was published in the "Texas Almanac for 1860," pp. 80, 81, says that as soon as the storming commenced he crossed the bridge on Commerce street with the political chief Don Ramon Murquiz and other members of the corporation, accompanied by the curate Refugio de la Garcia, for the purpose of looking after the wounded. They were fired upon by some Mexican dragoons and fell back. The account continues:

"Half an hour had elapsed when Santa Ana sent one of his aide-de-camps with an order for us to come before him. He directed me to call on some of the neighbors to come up with carts to carry the dead to the cemetery, and also to

accompany him, as he was desirous to have Colonels Travis, Bowie and Crockett shown to him.

"On the north battery of the fortress lay the lifeless body of Colonel Travis on the gun-carriage, shot only in the forehead. Toward the west and in the small fort opposite the city we found the body of Colonel Crockett. Colonel Bowie was found dead in his bed in one of the rooms of the south side.

"Santa Ana, after all the Mexicans were taken out, ordered wood to be brought to burn the bodies of the Texans. He sent a company of dragoons with me to bring wood and dry branches from the neighboring forest. About three o'clock in the afternoon they commenced laying the wood and dry branches, upon which a pile of dead bodies was placed; more wood was piled on them, and another pile brought; and in this manner they were all arranged in layers. Kindling wood was distributed through the pile, and about five o'clock in the evening it was lighted. * * *

"The men burnt numbered 182. I was an eye-witness, for as Alcalde of San Antonio, I was with some of the neighbors collecting the dead bodies and placing them on the funeral pyre."

In the *Telegraph* of March 28, 1837, is an account of the burial of the ashes, from which the following is copied:

"In conformity with an order of the general commanding the army at headquarters, Colonel Seguin with his command, stationed at Bexar, paid the honors of war to the remains of the heroes of the Alamo. The ashes were found in their places; the two smallest heaps were carefully collected, placed in

a coffin neatly covered with black and having the names of Travis, Bowie and Crockett engraved on the inside of the lid, and carried to Bexar and placed in the parish church, where the Texian flag, a rifle and sword were laid upon it, for the purpose of being accompanied by a procession which was formed at three o'clock on the 25th of February; the honors to be paid were announced in orders of the evening previous, and by the tolling knell from daybreak to the hour of interment. At four o'clock the procession moved from the church in Bexar in the following order:

"Field officers; staff officers; civil authorities; clergy; military not attached to the corps, and others; pall-bearers; coffin; pall-bearers; mourners and relatives; music; battalions; citizens.

"The procession then passed through the principal street of the city, crossed the river, passed through the principal avenue on the other side, and halted at the place where the first ashes had been gathered; the coffin was then placed upon the spot, and three volleys of musketry were discharged by one of the companies; the procession then moved on to the second spot, whence part of the ashes in the coffin had been taken, where the same honors were paid; the procession then proceeded to the principal spot and place of interment, where the graves had been prepared; the coffin had been placed in the principal heap of ashes, when Col. Seguin delivered a short address in Spanish, followed by Major Western in English, and the ashes were buried.

"Thus," says the editor, "have the last sad rites of a Christian burial been

performed over the remains of these brave men. In after times, when peace shall have returned to smile upon our prosperous country, a towering fabric of architecture shall be reared by their grateful countrymen above their ashes, designating Bexar as the monumental city of Texas; where long after the massive walls of the 'Alamo shall have crumbled into dust, the votaries of freedom shall yearly assemble to celebrate at the tomb of heroes the mighty achievements of the unreturning brave."

This note is already too long, and I forbear further copying of memoranda regarding the Fall of the Alamo, unless called for. C. H. C.

Houston, Texas.

LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—(II. 121.) Hugh, Earl Percy, afterwards second Duke of Northumberland, who was in this country in the early days of the Revolution, and commanded some forces at the battle of Lexington, and was afterwards engaged in the reduction of Fort Washington, left the country prior to the battle of Brandywine, and died in England on the 10th of July, 1817, at the age of seventy-four years.

Was there a younger member of the house of Percy at the battle of Brandywine "as a volunteer in the suite of one of the British Generals?" and was he slain in that battle and buried on the field? The story that there was, as we have it in print, was written by Col. William L. Stone, in an account of a visit to the field of Brandywine, published in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* in 1831, under the title of "Notes by the Way." It found its way into many

other papers of the day, and was copied by Watson in his "Annals of Philadelphia." I do not know what authority Col. Stone had for the detailed account of the fall of the "sprightly and chivalrous descendant of the Percies," given by him. He refers to it as derived from tradition, and speaks of an old resident then yet living near the spot, who had been forced into the service of Cornwallis as a guide.

There is no doubt that there was a tradition that a member of the house of Percy had fallen there. Joseph Townsend, an intelligent member of the Society of Friends, who, at the time of the battle was a young man, residing near to the field, and who was with that part of the British army under Cornwallis during a portion of the day; and afterwards assisted in burying the dead, about the year 1834, when in the 78th year of his age, wrote a narrative of the events of the battle as they fell under his observation, in which, in speaking of the dead interred in the Friends' burying ground at Birmingham, he says: "One of them, said to be a near connection of the Duke of Northumberland, a young man of the name of Percy."

The idea, however, of pointing out the site of the grave of this supposed scion of the house of Percy is simply preposterous. Many British soldiers who were slain were buried in this graveyard, in and around which the battle raged, and pieces of their clothing were formerly frequently thrown up in digging new graves.

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accompany him, as he was desirous to have Colonels Travis, Bowie and Crockett shown to him.

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The late Dr. William Darlington, who was born and reared on the field of Brandywine, and who gave much atten-

tion to the subject of the battle and was very familiar with its details, regarded this romantic Percy story as unquestionably a *myth*, and I believe this is the opinion now entertained generally among historians.

West Chester, Pa. J. S. FUTHEY.

THE MORRIS CREST.—(I. 575.) Pending a reply to the query with regard to the heraldic authority of record for the arms of this well known family the following extract from a political squib will serve to show their use in the last century. "The crest is a spacious Stone Castle with several Divisions and apartments, alluding (as I conjecture to a Combination of Powers and Strength) the little Turrets, Battlements, &c., may serve to illustrate the vain Attempts this Power has made use of to have established itself triumphant; the Flames within seem to discover a Disunion of Councils, and their Bursting forth at Top an indication that their chiefs or Heads, vaunting their unruly passions and accomplishing their Destruction. The motto being TANDEM VINCI-TOR, seems to declare the Virtue, Perseverance, Magnanimity and success of the *Morris* Family against all combined force." *Zenger's New York Weekly Journal*, Feb. 23, 1735. STUDENT.

COL. RUDOLPHUS RITZEMA.—(I. 107. II. 163.) Data for a fuller account of the Colonel's final separation from the American cause, and his subsequent career, are at present quite wanting. But notwithstanding the doubt legitimated by the language of his will, and expressed in the editorial note to our

recent biographical tribute, the conviction of the family that he never, *de facto*, fought against his country, is strongly confirmed by the "Universal Register" of Hugh Gaine, from 1778 to 1782, where his name does not appear on the army list of British Provincial officers.

WILLIAM HALL.

The sketch of Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema (II. 163), though kindly meant, is entirely wrong in saying that "he never took up arms against the Colonial forces," and that he was not "disloyal."

Rudolphus Ritzema was a son of Dominie Ritzema, a Dutch clergyman, of New York. After leaving King's College his father sent him to Holland to study divinity. There after a while he gave up the idea, went to Prussia, and enlisted as a private in a grenadier regiment. He served under Frederick till the end of the war (his only opportunity of acquiring any military knowledge), when his regiment being disbanded he returned to New York. There he studied law, and was a practicing attorney when the troubles in 1774 began. He became a Son of Liberty in 1775, raised a fusileer company, at whose head he escorted John Adams and the eastern Delegates into New York in May, 1775, the only other military company (which was also present) being that of Col. Lasher. He went to Canada as Lieut.-Colonel of the First New York Regiment under Montgomery. After the fall of St. Johns he commanded the Third New York Regiment. In 1776 he was court-martialed on serious charges, but acquitted, except of disrespect to Lord Stirling, which that officer

forgave, the other charges not being proven. He was broken by a court martial after conviction for various offences in 1778. He then joined the British in New York, and obtained from Sir Henry Clinton authority to raise a regiment of provincials. In this, after a long trial, he failed, but was allowed half pay. He finally went to England, and in the character of a *suffering loyalist*, got his half pay confirmed, and a grant of a small sum of money, and a tract of land in Nova Scotia. He was without principle, and the only military knowledge he had, was acquired as a private in the Prussian army. While serving in the American army in Canada, he behaved badly under fire, and drew off his forces. "This man was undoubtedly a coward;" says Scott in his life of Lamb; and Mr. Willett, in his life of his father, affirms that he, as well as Zedwitz, deserted to the enemy. Sabine, in his *Loyalists*, says, "Ritzema—, of New York, and son of Rev. Johanus Ritzema. Before the Revolution he kept a military school at Tarrytown. He was an officer in the service of the Crown." And Ritzema describes himself in his own will, as "*Late Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant in his Majesty's Provincials in North America*," as given by the sketch (II. 164), which of itself is proof positive that he went over from the American to the British service. Like others at that day he was a mere soldier of fortune, to say the least.

Your editorial note appended to the publication of his journal (I. 107) is correct as far as it goes.

The statement in my paper in the N. Y. Genealogical Record that David Rit-

zema Bogert bequeathed a portrait of his grandfather, Dominie Ritzema, to the New York Historical Society is not "a mistake." It is so stated by Mr. Bogert's niece in No. IX of the appendix to her "Memoir of the Life of Eliza S. M. Quincy" (her mother), the wife of President Quincy. If the portrait is not in the Society's possession, that circumstance does not affect the fact of the bequest. EDWARD F. DE LANCEY.

THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA.—The Magazine of American History, (II. p. 151), contains an interesting account of these worthies. They do not, however, seem to have been in very good repute in their lifetime, and if Colden's Letters on Smith's History of New York (N. Y. Hist. Soc'y Coll., 1868) be taken "au pied de la lettre," the gubernatorial showmen were first-class Barnums, and the English people as easily gulled as the crazed public who ran after the Feejee mermaid and the Woolly Horse. Here is what Colden says of the Four Kings:

"Mr. Smith makes such mention of Col. Peter Schuyler on several occasions that had you known him as I did you would pay little regard to Mr. Smith's characters, whether in panegyric or satire. Col. Schuyler was a plain country farmer, who had on some occasions given proof of his courage; this, with strong connections between that family and some of the Mohawk tribe, gave him a considerable interest with the Mohawks, but as to the other tribes it was in no respect such as Mr. Smith represents it. His whole exterior and deportment had much of the Indian mixed with the sul-

len Dutch manner. He was no way distinguished by abilities, either natural or acquired, and you may judge his sense of honour by his being prevailed on by Mr. Nicholson to join with him in the grossest imposition on the Queen and the British nation by carrying to England five or six common Indians and making them personate, one the Emperor of the Five Nations and the others the Kings of each nation. He might have paid dear for such an attempt had it not been that the Ministry were at that time fond of amusing the people with the eclat of such an appearance at court, for they might easily have been informed, if they knew it not, that there is no such thing among the Five Nations as either emperor or king. The Five Nations so far resented it that they never afterwards would suffer one of these Indians to appear in their public councils. I saw, several years after this, one of these Indians standing at a distance among the women and young men, while the Five Nations were at a public conference with the Governor of New York."

In this connection Smith's account of their visit to England may be interesting: "The arrival of the five Sachems in England made a great bruit throughout the whole kingdom. The mob followed where ever they went, and small cuts of them were sold among the people. The court was at that time in mourning for the death of the prince of Denmark. These American kings were therefore dressed in black under cloths, after the English manner, but instead of a blanket they had each a scarlet ingrain cloth mantle edged with gold, thrown over all

their other garments. This dress was directed by the dressers of the play-house and given by the queen, who was advised to make a show of them. A more than ordinary solemnity attended the audience they had of her majesty. Sir Charles Cotterel conducted them in two coaches to St. James, and the Lord Chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence. Their speech on the 19th of April, 1710, is preserved by Oldmixon." MOHAWK.

APRIL PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The regular monthly meeting was held in the Hall of the Society, Tuesday evening April 2d, 1878, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., in the chair.

A report was presented from the Executive Committee, in accordance with a resolution offered at the March meeting by Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, in regard to the appreciation by the Society of the private virtues and various important public services of the late Theodore Roosevelt, Esq., a member of the Society, which was ordered to be recorded in the minutes.

Mr. Henry Cruger Van Schaack, of Manlius, then read an extremely interesting paper, full of personal reminiscences, entitled "A Centennial Mansion;" and some other Old Dutch Houses of Kinderhook, with their Historic Associations.

Remarks were made by the President and Mr. Benedict, Chancellor of the University, after which the Society adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

DÉCOUVERTES ET ÉTABLISSEMENTS DES FRANÇAIS DANS L'OUEST ET DANS LE SUD DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE (1614-1754). Mémoires et Documents Originaux recueillis et publiés par PIERRE MARGRY, &c.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.—VOYAGES DES FRANÇAIS SUR LES GRANDS LACS ET DÉCOUVERTE DE L'OHIO ET DU MISSISSIPPI (1614-1684). 8vo, pp. 618. D. JOUART, Paris, 1876.

DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE FRENCH IN THE WEST AND SOUTH OF NORTH AMERICA (1614-1754). Memoirs and original Documents, collected and published by PIERRE MARGRY.

FIRST PART.—VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH ON THE GREAT LAKES, AND DISCOVERY OF THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI (1614-1684).

This is the first of a series of volumes which promises to be of great interest to students of American history. They are published, we are informed, at the expense of the American Government, which some time since made an appropriation for the purpose. The present volume, which is prefixed by a pleasing engraving of Cavalier de la Salle, begins with an account of the Récollets who established the first missions in the West and South, chiefly devoted to their labors among the Hurons, and their difficulties with the Québec Government, which was always jealous of their influence and power. Their leaders were Joseph le Baron and Jean d'Olbeau. Chapter II. recites the endeavors at settlement on the borders of Lake Ontario, where we find the familiar names of Bourdon and Dupuys, of Father Isaac Jogues, Lemoine, Chaumonet, Dablon and others, missionaries and pioneers from 1646 to 1687. Chapter III. is an extract from the "*Relation la Nouvelle France*," of 1643, with some details upon the life of Jean Nicolle. Chapter IV. contains a sketch of Father Allouez, missionary to the Nation of the Onaouans (1613-1659). Chapter V. is entitled "The views of Jean Talon on the possibility of extending the French power in North America, entertained by Spaniards." Chapter VI. is devoted to an account of the Voyage of Cavalier de la Salle with the Sulpician Fathers Dollier, de Casson and Brehan de Gallinée, upon which the Ohio was discovered, in 1669, the most interesting portion of which is contained in a relation of the voyage by the Abbé de Gallinée. Chapter VII. describes the Voyage of

Daniel Remy de Courcelles, Governor of New France, to Lake Ontario. Chapters VIII. and IX., the Voyage of Comte de Frontenac to Lake Ontario, and the correspondence regarding the same. Chapter X. relates the various efforts made to civilize the Savages from 1672 and 1674, and sundry reasons in favor of increasing the number of the Récollets, and their dispatch on distant missions. Chapter XI. describes the discovery of the Mississippi by Louis Jolliet, accompanied by Pére Marquette. Chapter XII. is concerned with the first return of Cavalier de la Salle to France, where he obtained from the King letters of nobility, a grant of land near Lake Ontario, and the government of Fort Frontenac. Chapter XIII., his course as commander of the Fort, and his efforts to improve his grant. Chapter XIV. gives a general description of the state of Canada, the abuses of power by Frontenac, the traffic in ardent spirits, and the intrigues against La Salle, together with the efforts of Jolliet to obtain a grant of the Illinois country. Chapter XV., the refusal of permission to Jolliet to establish himself in the Illinois, La Salle's second Voyage to France, and the new powers entrusted to him. Chapter XVI. gives a sketch of the relations by La Salle, to a friend of the Abbé de Gallinée, of his observations among the Iroquois and on the state of Canada. Chapter XVII. describes La Salle's part in the deliberations of 1678 on the traffic in spirits with the Savages. Chapter XVIII. refers to the assistance rendered La Salle by his family to enable him to carry out his enterprises from 1678 to 1683. Chapter XIX. is the official relation, made by order of Colbert, of La Salle's enterprises from 1679 to 1681. Chapter XX., an account by young Nicolas de La Salle of the enterprise of Robert Cavalier during the year 1682, when he descended the Mississippi to its mouth, went up in return to Quebec, after visiting various nations and taking possession of the country in the name of the King of France. Chapter XXI. closes the volume with the relation of Henri de Tonty on the Voyages and Settlements of the French on the Lakes and the Mississippi, under the orders of La Salle and de Tonty, from 1678 to 1684.

We have been thus elaborate in an enumeration of the contents of this volume because of its rarity, but few copies having as yet reached this country. The second is just published, and will be noticed in the next number in a similar manner.

We learn that the appropriation of Congress was secured by the active influence of Mr. S. L. M. Barlow of this city, who deserves the thanks of our historical world for his well-timed interposition.

The series will include about fourteen volumes, the first three of which are to be devoted to La Salle.

MICHIGAN PIONEER COLLECTION.

REPORT OF THE PIONEER SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN, together with Reports of County, Town and District Pioneer Societies. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 554. W. S. GEORGE & Co., Lansing, 1877.

This is the first fruit of the resolution adopted by the Society at its annual meeting in 1876, to make a permanent record of its proceedings and collections. It includes Reports of Counties, Towns and Districts as to their first settlement, organization and history, some of which are interesting and graphic.

WORCESTER IN THE REVOLUTION :

EMBRACING THE ACTS OF THE TOWN FROM 1765 TO 1783, INCLUSIVE ; with an Appendix by ALBERT A. LOVELL. 8vo, pp. 178.

TYLER & SEAGRAVE, Worcester, 1876.

An interesting and unpretending monograph of the services of this ancient city in the cause of American Freedom. We find here recorded that Isaiah Thomas, whose name is indissolubly connected with its history, entered Worcester the day after the battle of Lexington. His patriotic course as the proprietor of the *Massachusetts Spy* had compelled him to fly from Boston. With friendly aid he moved a part of his presses and type to Worcester, and printed a number—the first issued there—on the 3d of May, 1775.

The visit of John Hancock on his way to the Continental Congress, and of General Burgoyne on his way to captivity at Boston, are mentioned. The book is printed in a manner which old Isaiah Thomas himself would not have been ashamed of.

THE ONLY AUTHENTICATED COPY,

FULL AND COMPLETE, OF THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, OF MR. VERNON, embracing a Schedule of his Real Estate and Explanatory Notes thereto by the Testator ; to which are added important Historical Notes, Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes. Second edition. By W. H. NEWTON. 8vo, pp. 65.

The first edition of this work was issued in 1868, and contained the first publication of the complete Text of Washington's Will. It was printed under the supervision of Mr. N. Jackson,

of Virginia. The copyright has since passed into the hands of Mr. Newton, who has illustrated the document with numerous notes and sketches. The document itself is printed *verbatim et literatim*, and line for line of the original. Washington left a property valued by his own schedule at \$530,000.

IN MEMORIAM, THOMAS ALLEN

JENCKES, BORN NOVEMBER 2, 1818; DIED NOVEMBER 4, 1875. 8vo, pp. 75. Providence.

A memoir of a favorite son of Rhode Island, who, in the words of the *Providence Journal*, "took to politics with the taste of an American citizen and the instinct of a Rhode Islander." During his career he served in both houses of the General Assembly with acknowledged ability and distinction, and also as a Representative in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses. The contributors to this memoir agree that in the death of Mr. Jenckes "Rhode Island lost one of her profoundest men."

MEMORIAL OF THOMAS PERKINS

SHEPARD, M. D. Read before the Trustees of the Rhode Island Hospital September 19, 1877, by GEORGE J. CHACE, President of the Hospital. 8vo, pp. 33. RODNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1877.

Though bred a physician, Dr. Shepard does not appear to have paid attention to the practice of his profession, but passed his life in chemical experiments and enterprises. He established at Providence a laboratory on a large scale for making chemical reagents, then largely imported from England, for use in calico print works. In 1875 he was made President of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association of the United States, a body before which he read a paper on the Nature of Sulphuric Acid. Another on "Brimstone" caused a reversal by the Secretary of the Treasury of the rulings of the Custom officials. His life was eminently practical and useful.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON SEVERAL

OCCASIONS DELIVERED IN THE SENATE BY HENRY B. ANTHONY, a Senator from Rhode Island. 8vo, pp. 52. RODNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1875.

In this handsomely printed pamphlet, which is also illustrated with fine portraits, may be found sketches of various lengths of Douglas, Fessenden, Major-General Greene of the Conti-

mental Army, Roger Williams, Jonathan Trumbull, Roger Sherman, the Chevalier de Ternay, Charles Sumner and William A. Buckingham. The tributes to his fellows of the Senate Chamber are marked by warmth and feeling and a nice appreciation of character. The few words in which he announced to the Senate the death of Sumner are peculiarly touching, and the more elaborate sketch of Fessenden just and felicitous.

THE FINANCES, PANICS AND SPECIE

PAYMENTS. By J. W. SCHUCKERS. Third edition. 8vo, pp. 90. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

An excellent and timely review of the present situation of the finances of the country. The preface attests that "there is no good reason for supposing that the people of the United States can sustain a greater circulation of soundly-convertible notes than the present aggregate issues of the National Banks (\$384,000,000), but there are the solidest reasons for the belief that a circulation to that amount would be far too great for safety." He is also strongly inclined to the Eastern view, that the greenbacks should be wholly withdrawn. The evident tendency of the nation is the other way, and the Western people are manifestly in favor of a Government issue and the withdrawal of the National Bank notes. Some of the facts presented are worthy of careful consideration, particularly those which bear upon the question of the amount of coin needed to support a paper currency always convertible into specie. He points out the incontrovertible fact, that in 1857 the country could not sustain a paper issue of two hundred and fifteen millions upon a basis of two hundred and sixty-five millions, the estimated amount of coin in the United States.

Mr. Schuckers proposes that resumption be postponed until the public debt be reduced to four hundred millions of dollars, sufficient to secure the circulating notes of the National Banks. This certainly will find no favor. It would be absurd to maintain a debt for the purpose of enabling moneyed corporations to bank upon it as a basis. A national debt limited in amount, and bearing a low rate of interest, is desirable to the country, as providing a means of safe investment for those who are unable to manage their own affairs.

THE APPRECIATION OF MONEY. ITS

EFFECTS ON DEBTS, INDUSTRY AND NATIONAL WEALTH. By A. J. WARNER. 8vo, pp. 93. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

Mr. Warner begins his examination by opposing to each other two of the popular author-

ities on economic questions; David A. Wells, whose article in the *North American Review* ascribes the present depression in trade to over production of commodities, and Professor Bonamy Price, who in the *Contemporary Review* asserts that over consumption is the hidden cause. The real cause, says Mr. Warner, is the appreciation of money. Notwithstanding the fact that between 1848 and 1873 the stock of precious metals had increased thirty-six per cent., the commerce of the world had increased in a far greater ratio; that of the United States and Great Britain, for instance, three to four hundred per cent. This is undeniably true, and no doubt this is the cause of many of the perturbations which have rendered every species of business uncertain of late years, but the arguments based upon this fact are not sound. Mr. Warner is very severe upon Secretary Sherman for having proposed the demonetization of silver, and stigmatizes it as a fraud on the people of the United States. It seems to us that to compel a creditor by law to take payment in a metal that may lose its purchasing power at the rate of ten, twenty or thirty per cent. in as many weeks, is not the wisest or the most honest legislation.

HISTORY OF MARYLAND. PREPARED

for the use of Schools and Academies. By WILLIAM HAND BROWNE and THOMAS SCHARF. 16mo, pp. 91. KELLY, PITT & Co., Baltimore, 1878.

This little volume, arranged on the usual plan of questions and answers, seems to be well adapted to the use for which it is prepared. The style is easy, clear and succinct—a great merit in works of this character. The dangerous ground of the civil war is touched with prudence. We notice the statement that the more prudent even of those who favored the South were opposed to the secession of Maryland, as it would place the Confederate forces at a great disadvantage if they had to defend it.

THE MONEY AND THE FINANCES OF

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1784—ASSIGNATS AND MANDATS. A true history, including an examination of Dr. Andrew D. White's "Paper Money Inflation in France." By STEPHEN D. DILLAYE. 8vo, pp. 68. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1878.

This is a careful and truthful account of the rise, use and fall of the French Assignats, the overthrow of which Mr. Dillaye ascribes to the ease and extent of their forgery, and to the colossal "stock jobbing" of the assignats, the

repeal of the "Maximum," and finally the nullification of the laws, confiscating limited estates which had been dedicated as security for their redemption, which passed during the revolution, were repealed when the reaction set in after the final defeat of the Coalition.

All of this is an extremely interesting study, but hardly pertinent to the present condition of our finances, either in the use made of it by Mr. White in his attack upon, or by Mr. Dilaye in his defence of paper money. A paper circulation, strictly limited in amount and equivalent to coin, is certainly a valuable adjunct to the precious metals, but should never be permitted by expansion to drive out that which alone is real money, gold and silver.

THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN QUESTIONS. TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES: HOW THEY TRAVEL A COMMON ROAD TO RUIN. Addressed by way of warning to President Hayes, by HENRY CAREY BAIRD. 8vo, 16 pp. HENRY CAREY BAIRD & Co., Philadelphia, 1877.

The object of this open letter is, by holding up the warning of decayed Turkey, to preserve the United States from the same fate. The remedies proposed are a repeal of the resumption act and the passage of a law providing for the issue of the famous Kelley bond, bearing 3.65 per cent. interest. "More money is wanted," says Mr. Baird, and he proposes to supply it with more paper. If we do not speedily have more paper we shall fall as Turkey has fallen. We differ from Mr. Baird. If, after the fashion of Turkey, we do not keep our plighted faith and observe the letter of our bond, we shall hardly escape her fate. We want more money, and believe that the only way to keep it in the country as a sound basis for expanded credit is to make a place for it in the circulating medium.

THE HISTORIC MANSIONS AND BUILDINGS OF PHILADELPHIA; With some Notice of their Owners and Occupants. By THOMPSON WESTCOTT. 8vo, pp. 528. PORTER & COATES, Philadelphia, 1877.

We are delighted to see such evidence of the increasing interest in local history as this publication shows, with its handsome page and well-executed illustrations. Mr. Westcott is well known as an antiquarian of approved authority, and has for years devoted himself to the local history of this ancient city. The reader will here find descriptions of the churches, historic halls, and family mansions of the Quaker dignitaries. Its style is that of easy narrative, and the book will be found as agreeable in the fam-

ily as it is useful in the study. A thorough index adds to its value and commends it to the student.

MR. SUMNER, THE ALABAMA CLAIMS, AND THEIR SETTLEMENT: A LETTER TO THE "NEW YORK HERALD." By J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS. 8vo, pp. 20. DOUGLAS TAYLOR, New York, 1878.

This reprint from the columns of the *New York Herald* of January 4, 1878, has the value of authority, as Mr. Davis was the Assistant Secretary of State at the time of the "Claims Convention," about which so much controversy has recently taken place. Of course Mr. Davis takes the part of his chief, Mr. Fish, in the dispute, and sustains his charge of neglect upon Mr. Sumner, distinctly denying that either Sumner or Motley were the victims of a political intrigue about St. Domingo. We simply notice the view advanced.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, AND THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE OHIO: Being the Centennial Historical Address before the Citizens of Washington County, by ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, LL. D., President of Marietta College. Marietta, Ohio, July 4th, 1876. 8vo, pp. 83. PETER G. THOMSON, Cincinnati, 1877.

Another of the Centennial discourses delivered in response to President Grant's Proclamation. Washington is the oldest county in the great west. The settlement at Marietta in 1788 grew out of the appropriation of land made by Congress in 1776, and its favorable consideration of the petition of General Rufus Putnam and others, in 1783, that their lands be located in that tract of country. Putnam seems to have early contemplated an organized emigration to the West. To Doctor Manasseh Cutler, Mr. Andrews ascribes the honor of having drafted the famous ordinance of 1782, the charter of Western liberties. Marietta was incorporated in 1800. Besides the historical sketch there are the usual statistical details.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL EDUCATION AND MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1776-1876. Special Report, prepared for the United States Bureau of Education, by N. J. DAVIS, A. M., M. D. 8vo, pp. 60. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, Washington, 1877.

This report was prepared in accordance with the plan of preparation, for the Centennial Exhi-

bition, undertaken by the Bureau of Education of the department of the Interior. The Report on Public Libraries was the first paper published of the series, of which this is the second. It is a short *résumé* of the progress of medical education in the various States of the Union during the century.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT: A NEW AND SIMPLE PLAN FOR MAKING OURS EFFECTIVELY A GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE;" Practical improvements for holding constantly determined who are the people, and effective methods for obtaining legal expressions of their best intelligence, judgment and will in all public matters. By JOSIAH RILEY and W. S. ROSECRANS. 8vo, pp. 98, and Index, pp. XIX. SHELTON & Co., San Francisco, 1878.

A memorial addressed to the Legislatures of the several States, together with an act relating to Registration, &c. The plan is too comprehensive and elaborate for examination here. All nominations are proposed to be made at a general primary election; the electors may also instruct their representatives by vote, and those disobeying may be removed by the Legislature. There does not seem to be the slightest chance of any attention being paid to General Rosecrans' recommendations.

MEMOIR OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER, held at Schuylerville, N. Y., under the auspices of the Saratoga Monument Association, on the 12th of October, 1877. Prepared by WILLIAM L. STONE, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 189. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1878.

This handsomely printed volume gives a detailed account of the proceedings on the centennial of this memorable event, enclosed in a pleasing descriptive narrative by the accomplished and devoted gentleman who is the Secretary of the Association. The Hon. Charles S. Lester was the President of the day. The main address was delivered by the Hon. Horatio Seymour, and is one of his happiest speeches. The oration was one of the brilliant flights of George William Curtis; the poem a spirited effort from the pen of Alfred B. Street. Mr. Stone also delivered an historical address, and B. W. Throckmorton treated of Arnold in particular. We must not pass over the ode of our fellow citizen, General J. Watts de Peyster, in which the name of Gates is, curiously enough, omitted.

BURGOYNE; A POEM WRITTEN FOR the Centennial Celebration at Schuylerville on the 17th October, 1877, of Burgoyne's Surrender. By ALFRED B. STREET. 8vo, pp. 66. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1877.

This is the full text of the poem of over two thousand lines, prepared by Mr. Street at the request of the Saratoga Monument Association, a part only of which was delivered at the celebration. It is full of wit, imagery, charming description and spirit-stirring thoughts befitting such an occasion and such a theme. Especially are we delighted with the fascinating picture of the ascent of Lake Champlain by Burgoyne's flotilla.

"Now stately shone the scene,
June in the forests each side smiling green!"

The whole of the campaign is recited, and we are happy to say that the name of Gates is not omitted when the laurels are distributed.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. I. THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL RICHARD PRESCOTT BY LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM BARTON. An Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Exploit at Portsmouth, R. I., July 10, 1877. By J. LEWIS DIMAN. 4to, pp. 65. SIDNEY S. RIDER, Providence, 1877.

A pretty little volume, on fine paper, with a broad margin, and prefaced by a photographic sketch of the hero celebrated. This is the first of a neat series, which we hope may have many followers.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ASTOR LIBRARY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1877, transmitted to the Legislature January 16, 1878. 8vo, pp. 20. JEROME P. PARMENTER. 1878.

This report shows the increase in this noble institution during the year 1877. The report of the able superintendent, Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, shows the additions to the library during the year by purchase and donation to have amounted to 11,533. A careful examination shows the skill with which these additions have been selected. Watching carefully the demand upon the library from the public, Mr. Brevoort gave proper preference to the classes of works thus indicated, and has aimed at absolute completeness in all necessary branches, leaving those more neglected for future addition. We learn with regret and surprise that Mr. Brevoort has resigned his post and withdrawn from the superintendence. There is no man in the United States so well fitted by his experience, habits and information

as Mr. Brevoort for the position of superintendent of a great public library. An accomplished linguist, an enthusiastic collector of history, an excellent bibliophile and thorough cartographer, Mr. Brevoort is besides the most ready of men in his general information, and the most courteous gentleman in his manner of imparting it. He cannot be replaced. It is surprising that the trustees can be so blind to the interests of the institution and the wishes of the public as to consent to his withdrawal, if it can in any manner be averted.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS,
No. 2. VISIT OF THE NORTHMEN. By AL-
EXANDER FARNUM. 4to, pp. 41. SIDNEY
S. RIDER, Providence, 1877.

In this we find a close argument in support of the theory that the Northmen discovered America in the tenth century, and that the vine clad shores described in the ancient Sagas were those of Narragansett Bay. We see no reason why the Northmen should not have followed the Gulf Stream to ascertain its source, a route which would have brought them close to Newport Harbor.

We await the third tract with interest. It is announced to be the Journal of Lieutenant Hadden, of the artillery in Burgoyne's army.

**BIBLIOTHECA AMERICANA, 1878. CAT-
ALOGUE OF A VALUABLE COLLECTION OF
BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RELATING TO AMER-
ICA,** with a descriptive list of Robert Clarke
& Co.'s historical publications. 8vo, pp. 261
and pp. 64. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cin-
cinnati, 1878.

This valuable volume is a priced catalogue of a large collection, nearly seven thousand items of books and pamphlets relating to America, for sale by this enterprising house. Among them are twenty-five pre-Columbian items.

We commend it to the perusal of our collectors. It will aid to fill the gaps in many a library.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW,
MARCH-APRIL, 1878. No. 261. D. APPLE-
TON & Co., New York.

Among other valuable articles in this interesting number is an admirable comparison of the English and American Universities by the most competent authority in the country, President Eliot of Harvard College. The tone is not very encouraging, and our only solace is the closing paragraph, that "Americans can only hope that one or two centuries hence there may exist here a few Universities of equal dignity, power and renown with Oxford and Cambridge."

General Richard Taylor gives a third chapter of his reminiscences, entitled Stonewall Jackson and the Valley Campaign.

Interest will be found also in Rabbi Gustav Gottheil's Position of the Jews in America. He brings into strong relief the true reason of the success of this remarkable race, which history shows to be their patriotic devotion in every country to the institutions and government under which they live—and the theory of the rabbinical creed that idleness is sin.

**THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, MARCH-
APRIL, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co., New
York.**

In this number we find several articles of an historical nature. In the first, entitled Reminiscences of Alexander H. Stephens vs. those of General Richard Taylor, the Vice-President of the Confederacy handles the General without gloves, and distinctly denies the correctness of his statement as to their interview, which he terms a perfect Munchausenism. New York and its History is discussed by General J. Watts de Peyster in a review of Mrs. Lamb's work. The method of electing the President receives attention from Judge Cooley of Michigan and Representative Hewitt of New York. Dr. Osgood completes his disquisition on Modern Love, and in a second number brings this Ever Interesting subject down to date in a view of ourselves; we are not what we should be, man or woman, but we might be worse; with this we must content ourselves. From the closing paragraph, we infer that the Doctor intends to call a congress, after the fashion of a "Symposium," and ask them what they think about love.

**SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PA-
PERS. MARCH, 1878. Edited by Rev. J.
WILLIAM JONES, D. D. Richmond, Va.**

In this number we find the true story of the capture of Jefferson Davis, in which it is distinctly asserted that "while he did not actually have on crinoline or petticoats," at the time of his arrest, "there is no doubt whatever that he sought to avoid capture by assuming the dress of a woman." The dignity of Mr. Davis is strongly asserted. He seems to have worn a shawl and a waterproof. There are also some advance sheets from General Richard Taylor's Reminiscences, in which we find a criticism of Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign, the taste of which, from a fellow soldier, is not commendable. The Valley was the main supply of the Southern Army until Sheridan took charge and burned the barns and their contents. He was in too much haste to take the grain out of the barns, as General Taylor would perhaps have done if in his place.